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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

League Welcomes James W. Clise

THE Executive Committee of the Council of the National Municipal League met May 17 at luncheon at the Uptown Club in New York to welcome James W. Clise, a business man and civic leader of Seattle, as one of the League's vice presidents and to transact routine business.

Attending, in addition to Mr. Clise, were: Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council; Dr. George H. Gallup, vice president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer and chairman of the Steering Committee; George Arents, Dr. Frederick L. Bird, C. G. Hoag, John S. Linen, Ralph B. Maltby, Lawson Purdy, and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary.

Describing situations in his own and many other cities in which he had witnessed the constructive effect of the League's coöperation, Mr. Clise urged that steps be taken at once to expand the organization's staff and services.

"There is a healthy urge throughout the country on the part of individuals and citizen groups to learn how they can improve their communities," Mr. Clise said. "More specific on-the-spot service from the League would help many of them to influence their communities powerfully within a relatively short time.

"The traditional approach of the business man and the public-spirited citizen is still, unfortunately, to 'throw the rascals out.' This has been done literally thousands of times by enraged citizens but all too frequently they have rested on their oars and the 'rascals' soon are back in control again. The League, through its program of basic reorganization, has developed sound, permanent solutions, as hundreds of well governed cities can testify."

The executive secretary reported that the editorial advisory committee had agreed on the contents of the special issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW which will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the League, to be published later this year; that because of widespread activity in local government improvement efforts, nine of the League's publications were out of print and in process of revision; that there were more movements in progress for the modernization of local governments than at any other time during the last twenty years; and that the total number of communities and counties having the council-manager form of government is now 602.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY
Executive Secretary

No 1944 Debt Figures

For the time being at least, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will not publish "Bonded Debt of U. S. Cities," a regular feature of the June issue since 1923. The article and its accompanying tables have been prepared by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, first under the direction of C. E. Rightor, later under that of Miss

Rosina Mohaupt. Since the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census has begun publishing figures of a somewhat similar nature, under the title of "City Debt," it was felt that the REVIEW's compilation was to a certain extent a duplication of effort which might properly be eliminated during wartime.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

For the Record

WITH "I Am an American Day" becoming more firmly rooted as an occasion on which to help our citizens "to understand more fully the great privileges and responsibilities of citizenship in our democracy," rival claims as to who originated the idea are inevitably developing.

A prominent group of newspapers is now confidently stating that it has the honor, ignoring the fact, among others, that it was the founder of an organization which included the words "I Am an American" in its name who flew to Washington in 1940 and lobbied successfully to persuade Congress to amend a pending resolution for "Citizenship Day" to include words he had thought up.

"I Am an American Day" clearly is a child of "Citizenship Day."

Five years ago, in the spring of 1939, Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, attracted nation-wide attention with its pioneer celebration of "Citizenship Day," preceded by some weeks of careful preparation of 21-year-olds for their new responsibilities as citizens. This program was widely discussed. The Wisconsin legislature endorsed it and 38 Wisconsin counties used the plan in 1940. Also during 1940 a resolution entered Congress referring to "Citizenship Recognition Day" and emerged calling upon the President to proclaim "I Am an American Day."

Six months prior to the Manitowoc citizen induction ceremonies, C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin and then presi-

dent of the National Municipal League, in an address at the League's national conference at Baltimore in 1938, had advocated a national holiday similar to the one then being planned in Manitowoc. This, he said, should be to the youth of our country what the solemn ceremonies practiced by our tribal ancestors were to those passing from boyhood to manhood in earlier civilizations.

The New York *Herald Tribune*, in a news account of the observance of Citizenship Day published May 5, 1940, said:

"These 'Citizenship Days,' the outgrowth of an idea which a University of Wisconsin political science professor, Roy Jefferson Colbert, brought to fruition last year after fourteen years of effort, follow a practical educational program planned to acquaint America's new native-born voters with their government. . . .

"After having tried for fourteen years to 'sell' his idea to other communities, he suggested it to the Manitowoc citizens who, after some hesitation, accepted it. . . .

"The program attracted nationwide attention. Delegations from the middle west, the east, and from as far off as Helena, Montana, attended. Programs of similar nature have been planned by at least twelve states and by dozens of communities throughout the United States. Representative Joshua Johns, of Appleton, Wisconsin, has introduced a 'Citizenship Recognition Day' bill

which has passed the House and is to be introduced in the Senate by Senator Alexander Wiley, of Chipewewa Falls, Wisconsin."

The Johns-Wiley bill was the one in which the day's name got changed (may it some time retrieve both the name and the character it had before the promoters started to coöperate).

The idea may be just as sweet by any name but it appears to be much less constructive now than it was in Manitowoc. Indeed, it undoubtedly would help to call it "Citizen Induction Day." At any rate, it seems pretty clear where the credit for "Citizenship Day" or "I Am an American Day" belongs.

More on Secret Sessions

THE practice of holding secret sessions of city councils and school boards appears to be even more prevalent than was believed when the REVIEW published an editorial last month protesting that this tends to stifle popular understanding of and interest in local civic problems.

Editorial Research Reports, a national service for newspaper editors, distributed excerpts from the REVIEW's editorial and polled the editors to learn how widely the custom prevails.

Some newspapers reported that they had attacked and successfully discouraged the practice. Others seemed little disturbed. One of the most distinguished dailies accused the school board of its city of "shabby wire-pulling" in killing a resolution for open sessions and added that "at present, charges of patronage and other irregularities made by the former comptroller are before the board. It has decided to investigate these charges itself, though five of the twelve board members are mentioned in them, and the investigating will be done in closed sessions." A Michigan newspaper, reporting that secret meetings of its

school board had been abandoned twenty years ago, observed that "formal open sessions created a better understanding of school problems." This is exactly the principal point of the REVIEW's editorial.

A number of editors have pointed out that, although their councils and school boards held open sessions, informal "caucuses," discussions, etc., were held prior to the open meeting—which, of course, is just kidding the public.

A writer in a Scranton, Pennsylvania, newspaper, after graciously conceding that "the theory that the city's business should be conducted on the city hall steps is a very high-sounding one," says "it does not work out as well as the businesslike method of the executive chamber."

He asks what would happen if the thousands of stockholders of big businesses insisted that they be allowed to "sit in on every meeting of the directors." And "Why do all large businesses have boards of directors? The answer is obvious: to get the work done efficiently and quickly and with the least amount of noise, debate, and interference."

He then contrasts the smoothly

(Continued on page 318)

Utilities Need Regional Basis

Strains of war emphasize importance of planning service throughout metropolitan areas; many cities cooperate in current study of methods, organization, trends, future needs.

By JOHN BAUER, Director
American Public Utilities Bureau

THE war has accentuated the importance of providing unified utility services throughout metropolitan areas. Whatever the ownership and form of organization, adequate service at reasonable rates has become a comprehensive district matter. This applies to the basic utilities of water supply and sewage disposal, electricity and transportation, and often gas.

Furnishing regional utility services is an important part of the difficult problem of adjusting municipal organization between a city and its adjacent communities which together constitute a single industrial area. Practically all large cities have seriously outgrown their legal boundaries, fixed under earlier conditions in accordance with industrial regions. As time passed the cities pressed beyond these legal lines; satellite communities were created whose economic life has remained largely integrated with the central cities, but whose separate political existence has prevented adjustment to regional realities.

In the light of experience and probability, regional problems are likely to be worked out piecemeal as particular needs and pressures emerge. While comprehensive unification of municipal and economic territory will doubtless be the goal and trend, the apparent line of development will be through provision

of individual metropolitan services as regional requirements begin to dominate and push aside municipal diversities and cross-purposes. This is the type of adjustment that appears suited to the important utilities upon which future metropolitan welfare greatly depends.

Prompted by a study of the Hartford, Connecticut, water and sewage metropolitan district organization, a summary of which was published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for October 1943, a survey has been made of utility practices in U. S. cities of 100,000 population and over. Reprints of the Hartford article, together with a questionnaire on local utility organization and services for the city and its related communities, were sent to the mayors of these 92 cities, together with a letter which submitted the problem.

The questionnaires called for information under three major parts: First, city-owned and operated utilities, their form of organization and control, provision for serving adjacent communities, and the basis on which such outer-community service is furnished; second, present metropolitan district organization, form of organization and control, and operating and financial policies; third, opinion in regard to the problem of furnishing metropolitan service, how best provided, and the most suitable organization and control.

The response was gratifying. In all, 45 replies were received, covering a wide range of cities as to size, geography, and industrial conditions. The largest was Chicago, with a reported population of 3,397,000, and the smallest Duluth with 101,000. They furnish a good cross-section of what has been done, and provide a basis for considering effective organization and control.

This article—first in a series of four—discusses the status of the principal utilities in relation to the central city and its surrounding territory. The second will present an analyzed summary of what the large cities have done in supplying outlying areas. The third will summarize the special district organizations created for comprehensive service of the metropolitan territories. The fourth will consider the type of central city and district organization which appears most suited to meet common regional needs.

At the outset emphasis is directed to an important organizational distinction. In the case of water supply and sewage disposal, the organization is mostly municipal or public; for electricity, transportation, and gas it is preponderantly private. Whatever the type of ownership, however, the services themselves are public in character, the needs are metropolitan in scope, and the status of the systems will be viewed from the standpoint of the entire metropolitan area.

Roughly 90 per cent of the country's water utility consumers are served by municipally- or other publicly-owned systems; only about 10 per cent by private companies.

Mostly the large cities own and operate the water properties, and usually they provide also the sewage systems.

Water and Sewage

The problem of furnishing metropolitan water service thus directly confronts the great majority of the large cities. Where they own the water systems they must not only assure an adequate and economical supply for their own population, but also can hardly escape regard for their neighbor communities. Obtaining an adequate water supply depends ordinarily upon resources that are common to the entire territory and which extend beyond the metropolitan area. From this physical standpoint, supplies must be developed and made available jointly for the entire locality. Likewise sewage disposal, generally an integral part of the water system, is essentially a regional matter.

Postwar requirements will necessitate comprehensive district consideration. This involves, first, planning for an adequate, economical, and safe joint supply, and, second, such transmission and distribution connections as will assure the territory of proper service. Planning and development must certainly be regional, but organization may be by cities, with the form varied. Where private systems exist, the possible advantages of public purchase at proper compensation are subject to consideration.

From the standpoint of outright life necessity, water is the most essential utility for a city and region. But from the social, commercial, and industrial viewpoint, especially for future advancement, electricity

stands today as the No. 1 utility. For the country at large approximately 85 per cent of all electric customers are served by private companies.

Low Cost Electricity

The postwar problem before each city-region will be to obtain electric costs and rates that will furnish maximum advantage in competition with other localities for production and industrial advancement. As to adequacy of supply mere capacity can be readily expanded, especially steam electric generation. The need will be, first, to obtain generation at maximum efficiency, and, second, to deliver the energy to consumers at minimum cost. Technological improvements have become available but have been held back from application during the depression and war years. Virtually all private systems are operating far below realizable efficiency and economy. This lag in making improvements available is a matter of serious concern for the metropolitan areas.

Private development of the present chief public utility is understandable. To start with, electricity was a novel thing which had to win its way to extensive use against already existing modes of furnishing light, heat, and power. Private organization doubtless stimulated early development. Furthermore, as the public importance of electricity increased, private flexibility also facilitated extension from one municipality to another. The private systems usually furnish unified city-regional service, generally under the same schedule of rates.

While private electric companies have had the distinct advantage of by-passing fixed municipal boundaries, they have been subjected to other serious difficulties, including far-flung holding company control, over-capitalization, official elaborateness, small group absentee management, and disregard of public interest for narrowly pyramided private gains. Furthermore, against this widely prevalent situation, public regulation has not been particularly effective, and often has served more as a shield for the holding company management rather than as a positive means for the protection and advancement of public interest. At any rate, in many metropolitan sections electric rates are so high as to hamper future industrial development in competition with low-rate regions.¹

For the future, corporate simplification can be brought about, and private management can be redirected to observe more fully its underlying public functions; regulation by states and municipalities can be improved. The inherent conflict between private and public interest can hardly be eliminated altogether, however, and there are other conditions which raise the question as to whether public organization for metropolitan regions might not advantageously displace private, with fair compensation.

This question of city-regional public organization of electric power has been accentuated in recent years by three major factors. The first is the

¹See "Cities Must Seek Cheap Power to Hold Their Industries," by John Bauer. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1942.

experience of many municipal and other public systems, demonstrating that on the average they have been as efficient as the private companies, and on the whole have done a better community job.

The second factor is the break-up of holding company systems under the federal Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935. Under the administration of the Securities and Exchange Commission, every holding company must dispose of its control over all operating companies which are not part of a single integrated service territory. This disposition will affect most large cities and related territories, and raises the question of public acquisition. In a number of instances municipalization has taken place, and in others its desirability is receiving consideration.

The third factor is the federal income tax. This applies to private companies just as to other business corporations, but not to publicly-owned systems. During the war this tax has increased enormously. Under present law a company's net earnings above operating expenses, depreciation, and fixed charges is subject, first, to a 40 per cent tax on income roughly up to 6.5 per cent on its stated invested capital, and then an excess profits tax of 95 per cent on all additional income. After the war the excess profits tax may be eliminated, but an over-all tax of less than 30 per cent can hardly be expected for many years. While the excess profits tax can be avoided by proper rate reductions, the regular income tax will remain as an unavoidable cost to the companies, to be included in the rates paid by

the consumer.²

In contrast, localities supplied by municipal or other public systems will be free from the tax burden. Because of deeply entrenched national policies and law this fundamental tax difference, which affects relative rates substantially, will doubtless continue indefinitely. Under such disparity a privately-served community will be under a competitive disadvantage in production and development as compared with localities served by public systems.

In a locality served by a private electric company the desirability of public replacement will depend upon the balancing of relative advantages and disadvantages. In case of public acquisition, this would normally include the entire region, without break-up of the integrated properties. It would thus provide directly for the district as well as for the central city. It might be effected through a special metropolitan unit, or through an existing county, but in most instances probably best by the central city. Such municipal take-over would provide immediately for unified district service as against separate city operation.

Modern Mass Transportation

Transportation is the third essential utility after water and electricity. Like the latter, it has developed predominantly under private organization. While no definite statistics are available, roughly 90 per cent is privately owned.

The historical forces which pro-

²See "Relation of the War Taxes to Utility Rate Making," by John Bauer, *Public Utilities Fortnightly*, February 17, 1944.

duced private transportation development are largely the same as those for electricity. Originally the horse-car had to win its way on private initiative. Subsequently, when real utility status was attained, the problem of public control emerged because of public importance and because of the abuses that had developed during the 1890's and the first decade of the present century. Meanwhile transportation has become essential as an integrated service for the central city and its surrounding territory. Private companies have succeeded readily in attaining territorial unity. For the future, however, there is the same question as for electricity, whether needs for the locality might not be better provided through public displacement of private systems, at reasonable compensation.

The factors that enter into the decision are mainly the same as for electricity. They include relative over-all efficiency, the conflict between private and public interest, and federal taxes. There is also the fact that street railway operation has become almost wholly obsolete, and should be replaced by modern bus transportation. In many cities this has already happened. The process was interrupted by the war, when the manufacture of buses was rigorously restricted. After the war, however, the established superiority of buses will doubtless result in their rapid substitution for street railways, with probable abandonment of the latter within ten or fifteen years.

Displacement of street railways has created an extraordinary complexity in most communities. De-

spite the fact that buses have been crowding steadily forward since the first world war, few companies have made provision for depreciation and amortization of their outdated investment. Usually the defunct physical systems remain as the chief or sole support of the bonds and stock originally issued for construction and equipment.

Under these conditions, the companies naturally are averse to comprehensive conversion to bus transportation, and strive to save their street railway investments. As they nevertheless effect abandonments and substitute buses, they try to support the securities issued and outstanding against the dead street railways through fares paid by the bus riders. This situation directly or indirectly confronts most metropolitan areas. Any such region will face the issue as to whether bus fares shall be kept high enough to maintain the total company capitalization, or reduced to the independent costs of bus service. The unavoidable dilemma will be to require bus riders to pay a return on abandoned street railways or to force the company into insolvency. Not many companies can escape receivership if bus fares are reduced to cost of bus operation.

The question as to whether private operation might not better be displaced by public control thus becomes urgent. This would usually involve no physical or financial difficulties except for undue legal barriers. The required investment would not be extensive, being limited largely to the cost of the buses. The financial problems of the companies would be readily obviated, leaving

to private disposition the hangover street railway capitalization. As with electricity, the public unit would continue the regional service and would naturally come under the ownership and control of the chief city. Fares would be based exclusively upon bus costs, and the consequent low fares would contribute to the coherent development of the entire metropolitan area.

Manufactured and Natural Gas

The furnishing of gas is the least important of the major utilities for city-regional needs. The status, however, differs as to the kind of gas—manufactured or natural. Manufactured gas will probably have no increasing public importance for the future. Natural gas, where it can be economically supplied, will have significance for city-regional progress.

Like electricity and transportation, the gas utilities are overwhelmingly privately owned. Only in a few large cities are there publicly-owned and operated systems. Manufactured gas has been subjected to severe competition with electricity. Under present relative economies, lower electric rate schedules can be justifiably established for general residential purposes than for gas. In cities where the gas and electric properties are separately owned and controlled, the gas companies have been steadily crowded, and probably can do little more than to hold a struggling position in the service field.

With natural gas the situation is different, if an adequate and economical supply can be obtained. Then the consideration of metropolitan needs is essentially the same as for electricity and transportation.

Likewise the question of displacing private with publicly-owned properties is much the same. There is, however, one special factor to be considered. The tasks of providing the gas supply and its distribution are usually separated. Natural gas is brought into an extensive territory by a transmission company which then delivers it wholesale to various operating companies for local distribution; further, there is no interconnected network of distribution lines between the jointly served localities. Under this situation distribution properties could readily be acquired by the community, but the gas would continue to be purchased from the transmission company. Each distribution unit would come within a single city-metropolitan area. If acquisition of the distribution system were effected by the central city, it could continue the regional service.

What should be clear is that all the common utilities excepting manufactured gas have a vital and progressive importance for city-metropolitan welfare. In each instance there should be a comprehensive survey to determine how adequate and efficient and economical service can be obtained for the entire locality. This calls for full inquiry as to needs, and for open-minded consideration of what should be done in providing proper physical facilities and in assuring suitable organization, control, and management for maximum city-regional advantage. It may also require adjustments in the law so as to permit the cities and their surrounding communities to provide reasonably for future needs.

Boy Legislature Plan Spreading

Observers from other states study program developed by YMCA in New Jersey with Princeton's aid; see vehicle for youth training for active participation in civic affairs.

By **EDWARD W. WEIDNER**
National Municipal League

ON APRIL 21 Governor Walter E. Edge of New Jersey delivered his "annual message" to the legislature. It probably was the most attentive legislature that any governor ever addressed. Undoubtedly it was the youngest. The legislators, average age seventeen, constituted the annual New Jersey YMCA "Model Boy-Legislature." In the six years of its life the model legislature had attracted nation-wide attention. Proof of that fact was the Hi-Y (high school YMCA groups) observers from fourteen widely scattered states in the galleries. To them the spectacle opened new possibilities for Hi-Y program planning, new possibilities for training youth throughout the nation in democratic processes and civic responsibility.

It was back in 1937 that Clement A. Duran, then on the staff of the Albany YMCA, conceived the idea of a model legislature composed of representatives of Hi-Y groups throughout the state of New York. That year New York held the first model legislature. Two years later Mr. Duran was transferred to Newark where he became secretary of the Central Atlantic Areas Council of YMCA's. He immediately proposed his idea in New Jersey, and in 1939 that state became the second to hold a Hi-Y model legislature.

Although New York first started

the program, this story is concerned mainly with New Jersey because it soon became the leader of the "Youth and Government" movement. This was due not only to the influence of Mr. Duran but also to the enthusiasm of the other members of the Statewide Committee on Youth and Government and especially of Dr. John F. Sly and President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton, both, incidentally, prominent National Municipal League members. Dr. Sly was made chairman of the statewide committee and was to an important degree responsible for the program's development. President Dodds coöperated by making the resources of Princeton University available.

The casual onlooker at the State House in Trenton could not hope to guess the scope of the program. It is no two-day publicity stunt put on by a handful of Hi-Y members. It is a year-round proposition participated in by every member of Hi-Y's in New Jersey. Only when this is realized does one understand the significance of the statement of William E. Speers, former mayor of Montclair and member of the statewide committee: "Back of the plan is the conviction that the best way to assure a belief in democracy and to increase its effectiveness is to educate young people to understand by actual participation what representa-

tive democracy means."

To develop a Hi-Y model legislature as in New Jersey, there are certain advisable prerequisites. Active local Hi-Y clubs are needed together with a statewide committee composed of outstanding educators, civic leaders, and YMCA secretaries and committeemen. A sponsoring university and the coöperation of local and state officials complete the picture.

Plan of Program

There are seven steps to the New Jersey program. Early in the year "Boy-Senators" and "Boy-Assemblymen" are elected by Hi-Y clubs of the towns and cities of the state. The election is not a routine process. It is held only after such subjects as the implications of being a good citizen, the importance and significance of government in the community, and the role and function of local and state departments are thoroughly discussed.

The first meeting of the boy-legislators is at Princeton in February. At this Pre-Legislative Conference state leaders in education, government, business, and religion help to orient and instruct the boys in citizenship and government. Special attention is given to the problems of how to draft a bill, suitable subjects for legislation are discussed, and officers of the year's model legislature are elected.

Each boy-legislator is told that he should be responsible for at least one bill. While it is his bill, he is nevertheless responsible for seeing that it represents the result of his Hi-Y group's discussion and thinking. Subjects for the bills are found

in a number of ways. Interviews with community leaders are held. Bills presented at last year's model legislature are scanned. Personal and club interests are examined for areas of legislation.

To help in the search for suitable subjects for legislation, the New Jersey Public Opinion Poll was begun a few years ago. The poll is conducted by the boy-legislators, assisted by Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and vice president of the National Municipal League. The result each year has been to broaden the scope of the subjects of bills introduced into the model legislature.

Hi-Y clubs in New Jersey do not stop at drawing up bills and introducing them in the legislature. There would be only a limited amount of value in such procedure. After the bills are drawn up, a club takes what local action it can to remedy the situation with which it is concerned. During a discussion on vocations in a club in a rural community, the fact was established that boys were leaving these farm areas and going to cities for jobs. It was pointed out that none of the vocational work done in school dealt with agriculture. A bill was drawn up "to provide for state-operated schools for youth interested in agriculture." Seeing an opportunity for club action, the boys made a list of all students graduated from high school within the last five years, showing those who were in college, those working in the city, and those who remained on farms. A series of talks and discussions was held by

the club on "Opportunities in Agriculture." The boys visited a farm where a successful farmer talked to them. Finally, catalogues of colleges having agriculture courses were displayed prominently in the school.

Another Hi-Y club was discussing a current movie showing conditions which brought about juvenile delinquency. Housing, it was found, played an important part. The boys felt that the percentage of juvenile delinquency in their own community was too high. The bill which developed was "An act for the creation and appointment of a commission for the purpose of studying the question of housing, detention, and supervision of juvenile delinquents." The boys then made and exhibited a city map showing poor housing areas. A local children's court judge addressed a Hi-Y meeting, and the statistics he presented and explained were made the subject of several discussions. A trip was made to a home for delinquents. A list of recreational opportunities in the city was compiled and distributed to the boys in the grade schools, and the Hi-Y club volunteered to assist the YMCA and the Boy's Club in its program.

In March Princeton plays host to the boy-legislators once more at the Local Government Conference. At this meeting leaders in education and government interpret the theory and practice of government in New Jersey's counties, cities, townships, and villages. This completes the setting of the stage for the model legislature itself.

In April the boy-legislators gather at the State House in Trenton for their two-day session. Bills have

been submitted beforehand and mimeographed, and each member is given a "Bill Book" to help him follow the subject under discussion. The legislature opens with the official reception of the Boy-Governor and the Governor of New Jersey. After preliminaries the real work of the session gets under way, and, except for some simplification in order to cope with the two-day time limit of the session, the procedure resembles that of the actual state legislature. Bills are read, referred to joint committees; then, if recommended for passage, are reported back to the house in which the bill originated for debate and action.

Session in Action

Each committee is assigned a "resource leader" who is usually a state official in the field covered by the committee. These leaders help to give background information on the subject under consideration, and they are of great help in informing the boy-legislators about their state and local governments.

The sessions are marked by earnestness and a sense of responsibility. Each bill is considered on its merits. An example is the debate which took place in the Boy-Senate on a bill to lower the voting age to eighteen. After a long and thorough debate, the body found itself evenly divided on the bill; it was up to the Boy-President of the Senate to cast the deciding vote. He voted against it.

It was a reassuring experience to see how boys of different races, creeds, and colors could harmoniously formulate policies. Aware of the existing racial problem, the boy-

legislators passed "An act to provide fair employment practice in industry or government" and "An act to abolish segregation of colored and white students in public schools of New Jersey and to provide for equal educational facilities and opportunities for all people in New Jersey regardless of race, creed or color."

The theory of democracy was discussed on the House floor when a bill was debated which would have required all persons of voting age who fail to vote to pay a five-dollar penalty. The young legislators decided it was not alone the quantity of votes which counted in a democracy, and the bill was lost.

As each boy-legislator defends his bill and tries to gain his colleague's support, the values of the Youth and Government program become evident. As stated by Dr. Sly, "It is essentially a program for potential leaders in public life, drawn from the student bodies of high schools throughout the state by standards established and developed by the Hi-Y clubs of the YMCA. It is designed to confirm the principles of democracy in every member, to develop and sustain moral fortitude and courage in the solution of public problems, and to prepare for effective participation in the policy-determining aspects of the democratic process."

The program may be divided roughly into three parts: training, practice, and application. It is the third aspect which has not yet been completely described. The principle of application is observed not only in following up with local action on bills introduced into the model legis-

lature, but also in conducting local youth and government programs in the counties and cities. These programs are flexible and considerable variation is to be found from one community to another. Some take the form of model city and county governments. Others stress more of an informal examination of local government with visits to local officials and offices, talks and discussions on local problems, and examination of certain publications of local government, for example, the mayor's report. In some cases the Hi-Y clubs have coöperated with other boys and girls clubs and with junior and senior high schools in carrying out these programs.

Idea Spreading

The program has not been confined to New Jersey and New York. In the last two years it has spread to Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, and to Wilmington, Delaware. There are local variations to suit the individual state. In New York and Connecticut girls as well as boys are elected to the model legislature. In New York, particularly, girls' Hi-Y clubs have long been closely connected with the YMCA, and so it was natural to include girls. Yale University and the University of Maryland coöperate with the programs in their respective states, while no university is closely associated with the program in New York. New Jersey has been the leader of the movement, however, and has served as a model for those adopted elsewhere.

Dr. Sly was not satisfied that

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Intercity Cooperation Increases

Tennessee Valley communities, stimulated by great power development, progress rapidly in joint action and self-improvement efforts; urban-rural understanding improved.

By JAMES P. POPE

Director, Tennessee Valley Authority

A DISTRESSED world, going through cycles of economic crises and wars, may need to look for new bases of cooperation and stability. In such a quest it may have a good deal to learn from the experience of cities. For city life has always of necessity involved coöperative action. Needs such as a water supply or the disposal of wastes, while largely individual matters in rural areas, present problems in cities that must be solved—and they can be solved only by united effort.

There are historians who insist that most of the great cultures of the world have been born in cities and that cities have been in the vanguard of progress. It was Bagehot who said that it is in "the crowd, the hum, and the shock of men" that the intellect is sharpened, initiative stimulated, and people are aroused to united action. However this may be, it seems pretty clear that it was united action, the development of coöperative procedures, that enabled the cities to deal with their problems and to play an important part in the progress of nations and peoples.

And not only have cities set the pace for coöperation in their internal affairs; they have in recent years taken long steps toward intermunicipal coöperation. The three Americas have made great strides in the direction of international friendship and

coöperation at the municipal level.¹ And the pressure of common war-connected problems is forcing cities in the United States to band themselves together to achieve joint solutions of region-wide municipal problems.² For instance, in California twelve cities under a mutual aid plan have placed their police forces under one coöordinator; and in the Boston area 30 cities are interconnected by a fire alarm system. In one region 43 airports are being operated jointly by several cities.

In the Tennessee Valley area great emphasis is being given to the advantages of intermunicipal coöperation, and new ways have been found for cities to work together. In this area is located the Tennessee Valley Authority, one of the few federal agencies whose program is integrated on a geographic basis. A little more than a decade ago President Roosevelt requested Congress to enact legislation to create an agency "charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory."

The Tennessee Valley Authority

¹See "Intermunicipal Coöperation in the Americas," by Carlos M. Moran, *Public Management*, December 1943, pp. 354-356.

²See "Administrative Organization," by John B. Blandford, Jr., *The Municipal Year Book*, 1943, p. 312.

was so created and its work has gone forward on that basis. The Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory, within which TVA electricity is being served, comprises a region of about 86,000 square miles, or twice the size of Cuba. It has more than 6,000,000 people and 108 cities (over 2,500 population). Only four of the cities have populations of over 100,000, and eighteen more have populations in excess of 10,000. About one-fourth of the people of the region live in these cities, which is well below the average for the United States.

TVA Activities

The program of TVA is broad. It includes generation and transmission of electricity from a score of dams and half-a-dozen steam plants. It provides for the navigability of the Tennessee River, for flood control of the Tennessee and the lower Mississippi Rivers, for the production and distribution of improved fertilizers, and programs in forestry, malaria control, research, and other regional activities.

Early in its history TVA recognized that its program was dependent upon the coöperation of the citizens, the institutions, and governments of the area. This conception was formally expressed in the third annual report: "The planning of the river's future is entrusted to the TVA. The planning of the Valley's future must be the democratic labor of many agencies and individuals, and final success is as much a matter of general initiative as of general consent."³

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³Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley

This many-sided program of TVA has called into existence a variety of new and significant relationships⁴—relationships between TVA and states, counties, municipalities, educational institutions, farm organizations, other federal agencies, and individuals. It has created new relationships between and among these various agencies. None of these relationships is more significant than the coöperation that has developed in the region between TVA and the cities and towns and among the municipalities themselves.

In the electrical field this coöperation has been developed in a remarkable way. TVA generates and transmits electricity to the city's gates. From there on to the consumer the city handles the distribution. TVA sells the power at wholesale (4 mills per kwh) to the city, which in turn sells it to the consumer (2 cents per kwh for home use). This operation is carried on under a contract between TVA and the city, in which are specified the terms as to resale rates, taxes, and other features of operation.

More than 50 municipalities have participated with TVA in the purchase of the properties of private utility companies operating in this area—TVA buying the generating and transmission equipment and the cities buying the distribution facilities. These cities are now furnishing power to consumers within the

Authority for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 2.

⁴See "Local Government and the TVA Program," by Lawrence L. Durisch, *Public Administration Review*, Summer 1941, pp. 326-334.

boundaries of 62 other municipalities.

TVA now has contracts with 84 cities and 45 coöperatives. The co-operation of these cities with TVA and with each other is one of the highlights of the Tennessee Valley development. There are constant conferences and meetings to consider the mutual problems. Once each year there is the annual meeting of all the cities and towns in the TVA system, with outside prominent speakers and with unforgettable discussions among themselves about their experiences and their problems. These meetings are not the result of a formal organization, but the fulfillment of the normal desire of each other to keep abreast of developments of this rapidly expanding field of activity in the region. At every such meeting there comes a fresh realization that these cities and towns are working together in a region-wide program of great usefulness.

Billing Cooperative

Another form of coöperation has grown up with this system. The local units engaged in distributing TVA power are generally small. Fifteen of the municipal systems have less than 1,000 customers, and 30 units have less than 28,000 customers. Only six of the 84 municipal systems distributing TVA power serve more than 5,000 customers. The smaller systems have found that routine jobs of administration unduly extend their overhead costs. For example, few of the municipal systems and none of the coöperative systems have a volume of accounts large enough to justify purchase of expensive billing

equipment. However, hand billing is also costly.

Out of this situation has grown a unique form of coöperation. The Central Service Association was organized as a coöperative in 1937, its principal purpose being to supply machine billing services for municipal and coöperative distributors of power. The first year of operation found the Association supplying a billing service for one municipality and three nearby coöperatives. By 1942 it was serving 66 municipalities and 40 coöperatives in six states, preparing electric bills for the most part, but some water and gas bills as well. It will be noted that most of the municipalities and nearly all the coöperatives are now coöperating in this service.

This coöperative association has expanded its functions along with its membership, although it has confined its operations to the utility field. It now provides central purchasing services and prepares basic statistical data for its members, and it has under consideration group insurance and retirement plans. It is constantly seeking to develop new services for its members. The successful operation of this coöperative may cause some of the smaller municipalities to consider application of the same principle to services outside the utility field, on work in which unit costs are greatly lowered as volume of operations is increased. The Association has pioneered by demonstrating to the region how sometimes the efficiency of centralization might be combined with the advantages of

local control.⁵

Another field of coöperative effort is rapidly coming into the picture, that is, stream sanitation. The TVA program of river improvement has focused attention on problems of stream sanitation. Domestic sewage and industrial wastes already interfere seriously with utilization of the waterways resource. A large number of communities are using the same river system for industrial and domestic water supply, for recreation, and for disposal of wastes. The growth of cities and industries along the river is making stream pollution more critical, and leads to a situation of growing concern to all communities affected. Practices of each city with regard to waste disposal affect the river system's availability for other uses by downstream communities. Only nineteen municipal sewage disposal systems in the Valley now provide for treatment adequate to prevent stream pollution.

On the basis of present studies, it is estimated that domestic sewage in the river would be adequately abated by joint action of fourteen municipalities in building or improving their local disposal plants. Plans for such action are now going forward with the assistance of federal, state, and local agencies concerned. Coöperative activities by cities in the control of stream pollution present special problems of financing the projects, since benefits derived by each city from the program may bear little or no relation to the size of the local plant

investment. At the same time this type of intermunicipal coöperation is of vital significance to the regional development program.

River Terminal Facilities

With the new availability of river transportation after TVA channel improvements, communities on the river realized their common interest in the development of river terminal facilities. As it is with telephones, a river terminal has value only after other terminals are built, and the value of each terminal rises sharply as the number of terminal facilities in other communities increases. In 1940, 54 delegates from nine river cities met to organize the Tennessee Valley Waterways Conference. A permanent executive committee was formed, consisting of one member from each of the nine charter cities. The membership is made up of business interests, although the organization has the endorsement of each of the municipal governments concerned. The Conference has studied plans for a system of river terminals and has made recommendations for public action. It has also given assistance in developing barge-line services on the river. The organization and activities of the Conference make it an important illustration of a type of intercity coöperation necessary for more complete utilization of a new regional resource.

Four small cities in the Muscle Shoals area, where TVA and private chemical plants are clustered, recognized the needs and opportunities for planning at an early date, with industrial expansions and the Tennes-

⁵"Cooperation Pays Dividends," by M. H. Satterfield, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1942, pp. 431-435.

see River development both taking place in their midst. Each organized a municipal planning commission.

The four planning groups soon found they were working on common problems of housing, stream sanitation, recreational facilities, and river terminals. They found too that joint action on such problems was the only way they could be successfully met. These and other considerations led to organization of a Central Committee, composed of three representatives from each of the municipal commissions, to coördinate plans for the entire area. Intermunicipal coöperation in the field of planning is developing in other parts of the area and promises to become of major importance.

Coöperation between cities in the seven states wholly or partially in the Tennessee Valley has a firm foundation in state leagues of municipalities. In every state efforts of municipalities to coöperate with each other extends over a period of twenty years. In Tennessee, however, the present Municipal League was organized only in 1940, well after the advent of TVA. In each state the League is interested in and concerns itself with state legislation concerning cities. It is also interested in the technical processes of government and in the improvement of administration.

The TVA has been able to coöper-

ate with cities in efforts to improve administration. It has assisted in the conduct of surveys of municipal government in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee. These studies provided the first comprehensive surveys of municipal government in each of these states. The TVA has also made available studies of local government accounting, assessments of real property for tax purposes, and in other ways rendered technical assistance to institutions in the area seeking to improve local government.

Coöperation between cities is one of the most promising aspects of the development of the region. There are still elements of competition between cities, of course, and some phases of intermunicipal competition are undoubtedly desirable. Cities should, for example, compete with each other to make themselves better places in which to live, to achieve better and more efficient governments, and to increase civic spirit and pride. The important thing is that cities are discovering new grounds of common interest, are attacking more problems jointly. The growth of intermunicipal coöperation in the Tennessee Valley augurs well for other aspects of intergovernmental coöperation and for better understanding between rural and urban areas.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Reprinted from *Boletín de la Comisión Panamericana de Cooperación Intermunicipal*.

One Man Grand Jury in Action

Michigan's unique system of exposing wrongdoers wrings confessions of legislative corruption; citizen interest and action again start process of legal investigation.

By WILLIAM P. LOVETT

Executive Secretary, Detroit Citizens League

A GAIN Michigan reaps rich rewards with its unique one-man grand jury system. More than a score of men—members of the state legislature, lobbyists, and others—have faced enough cold evidence to induce them to confess their part in the game of graft: paying or accepting money for votes aiming to pass or defeat certain bills. There will be more to follow.

Judge Leland W. Carr of the Ingham Circuit court, where the state capitol is located, is the jury. His chief associate, Kim Sigler, was appointed by Judge Carr to be the special prosecuting attorney for this procedure, assisted by a staff of trained investigators and attorneys. The real job of clinching preliminary inquiries with official investigation began about six months ago; it will continue probably a full year or more.

By this method Homer Ferguson, formerly circuit judge in the Detroit area, now U. S. Senator, in three years (1939-42) accomplished a vast and successful warfare against syndicated gamblers. This, in the opinion of good authorities, surpassed anything done in New York by Thomas E. Dewey. From the beginning Dewey enjoyed advantages and had assets lacking in the work of Ferguson. But Ferguson even raided out the crooks in the Detroit Police Department.

Catching political grafters in a state legislature, however, is a more difficult task than anything done by Dewey or Ferguson. Tangible, convicting evidence is hard to get, largely because payments of money involve too many people whose memories are bound to suffer lapses. There is too much fear of unearthing the powerful political sources of the malignant growth. Not only the briber and the bribee are concerned, but the cause of the iniquity in some organized group seeking to profit by legislation somehow must be found by legal process.

Citizen interest and action are the foundation of this kind of job. Disgust with increasing reports of legislative corruption prompts citizens to start legal investigation. Courage, faith, willingness to incur personal, political, and financial risks, must be backed by moral resentment against practices which make a mockery of the task of government. Fortunately, Michigan, practically free of enduring party machines, can trace its ethical heritage back from Ferguson and Carr to Pingree, of the late '90's. The present campaign brings back the name of Henry M. Leland, founder of the Detroit Citizens League, a few of whose leaders started both the Ferguson and the Carr projects.

Under Michigan law one citizen may initiate this kind of grand jury

process—provided he furnishes evidence sufficient to convince some judge, prosecuting attorney, or, as in this case, the attorney general of the state, that the expensive grand jury effort is justifiable. Seven citizens signed the petition which was granted by the Wayne Circuit Court when Ferguson began his work.

Last summer these citizens spent several months convincing Attorney General Rushton that the current enterprise should be undertaken; he knew of too many previous demands which had stemmed largely from selfish politics or the futile indignation of amateur reformers. His name is Herbert, not George, and he didn't want to have a hot "buck," with nothing else, left in his lap by citizens who liked to shake the state capitol and then run away.

"The salvation of the state is the watchfulness of its citizens," runs a motto carved high above the entrance to the Nebraska State Capitol. Laxity, carelessness, or plain sinfulness among rank-and-file citizens must explain graft and the grand jury necessary to unearth it. When voters are willing to pay the price of electing honest men to the legislature, bills will not be passed or defeated by the bribery method. But the dishonesty begins outside the halls of legislation. "Sandbag" bills result generally after one or more lobbyists have paid the price in money for what they want.

The combination of money and politics doubtless offers a major test of character in public office. But the majority of legislators, when elected, mean to do nothing wrong.

Grand jury methods are adopted

as an extreme measure, after normal implements of prosecution have failed to stop known evils. Honesty, vigor, and independence among prosecuting attorneys generally reflect a high level of citizen ethics, public interest, and attention to trends in governmental affairs. No acts of government, including legal prosecution, can make honest men out of crooks. But even the prosecution of wrongdoing too often is not attempted because the great majority of citizens would rather keep out of trouble—and let politics stay dirty.

Will More Pay Help?

The financial rating on public service explains most of our troubles in this field. So-called successful men think they "can't afford" to accept public office—the pay isn't large enough to offset their business or professional incomes. Some people imagine that more pay for members of the state legislature will prevent continuance of the game of graft. Next November Michigan will vote on a constitutional amendment which, if adopted, will increase this pay from \$2,000 for the biennium to about \$3,500. But others have their doubts about the results of this idea. Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey, well said:

"If our democracy is to be made effective, this tradition that there is honor in going to Washington, but no honor in going to the state capitol or the city hall, must be reversed."

While some citizens, including members of the legislature, are amazed at the facts already disclosed by the current grand jury, it is still to be revealed whether the choice of a new legislature this year will

mean a great access of new candidates from those quarters known to represent ability and honesty, as well as high character and willingness to endure the penalties of service in political office.

Many believe that the one-man jury investigation shows results superior to those of multiple juries. Especially where the political complexities of legislative graft come in, it is a larger order to get agreement among 23 jurors than to satisfy the legal mind of one tried-and-true judge. The court trials which must follow present indictments will furnish interesting experience in this record.

Detroit naturally hopes that the present activity, like that directed by Judge Ferguson and Prosecutor O'Hara, will go far to relieve the black eye which this city suffered because of the campaign against gamblers, followed by the race riot of last June. A low level of legislative quality from this region has not been denied. "At least we should have credit for cleaning up our own door-yard," says the citizen who knows what goes on in some other metropolitan areas.

A sound conclusion of the whole matter was stated fifty years ago by George Burnham, Jr., president of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, as he welcomed the delegates to the conference in which the National Municipal League was organized:

"I do not know, gentlemen, what sovereign remedies you may have brought in your grip-sacks for the evils we are here to discuss, but this I do believe, that none of them can succeed that are not based upon such

an awakening of the public conscience as shall lead our citizens to give the same serious attention to their political duties that they now grant their business, church, and social obligations."

BOY LEGISLATURE

(Continued from page 286)

New Jersey and a few of her neighboring states should be the only ones with youth and government programs. If the program had such excellent value in one state, he argued, why shouldn't it be promoted throughout the entire country? Dr. Sly easily convinced the National Council of YMCA's that the program should be a point of emphasis for Hi-Y programming throughout the country in 1944, the YMCA's centennial anniversary.

National extension of the program is now under way. A National Hi-Y Youth and Government Committee has been appointed with Dr. Sly as chairman. A National Youth and Government Extension and Coaching Conference was held at Princeton University on April 20-21. There, representatives from fourteen states discussed the possibilities of the program and it was decided to launch a nationwide campaign for youth and government programs in municipalities, counties, and states.

With a membership of 200,000 in 7,000 Hi-Y clubs in 46 states, the YMCA has the organization necessary for carrying out this proposal. It is now up to community and state leaders—educators, civic leaders, and YMCA secretaries—to provide the impetus in organizing youth and government committees.

Researcher's Digest: June

Maxims by a researcher, Middletown and postwar planning, Illinois considers billboards, Indiana's representatives.

By MIRIAM ROHER

LONG hair or short, when a researcher lets his down the result is likely to be monumental. William C. Beyer, of the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, has just done so. *The Walrus Has the Floor* is the piquant title he has given a privately printed booklet of epigrams, maxims, and "sayings" which have been a rich by-product of his years in the governmental vineyard.

Like all works of humor and wisdom, Mr. Beyer's is a sore temptation to a reviewer who doesn't find quotable "quotes" on every lamp-post. Without reflection on the aptness of the 90 other observations of the researcher, here are a few samples:

"I have found that the fly swatter and the fly are rarely in evidence at the same time."

"The true researcher's most prized reward for completing a project is the opportunity to start another."

"Democracy is a form of government under which the people are permitted to make their own blunders."

Pattern for Planning

A real Middletown is demonstrating that America can plan for peace as well as for war. This Middletown is in Connecticut. The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** tells what it is doing in *Middletown—Testing Ground for Connecticut Postwar Planning*. The plan is for the rest of the state to learn from this one medium-sized city and, if the lesson is a good one, perhaps to pass it on to the rest of the country.

The organization plan Middletown chose is a familiar one to wartime

America. There is the council of civic leaders which might be the equivalent of the local defense council. There are the committees of leaders in specific fields: agriculture, building construction, commerce, commodity markets, employment statistics, finance, industry, institutions, public works, recreation, utilities and transportation, and three subcommittees on publicity, research, and rehabilitation and re-employment of veterans.

What these committees are doing is not necessarily complicated, but it is important. They are gathering facts, figures, ideas, plans, recommendations—with perhaps a few hopes and dreams thrown in to make it truly American. Action will result. It is grass-roots research and planning in its purest and most democratic form.

Who They Are

Who are the men who make our laws? To illustrate that vituperative jumping to conclusions is not the only way to classify legislators, Robert D. Rosenbush has produced *Indiana's Representatives—A Study of Background, Interests and Political Trends*, under the aegis of the Institute of Politics of Indiana University. A foreword by the acting director of the Institute points out that the conclusions must necessarily be tentative because the author acquired the title "Corporal" to replace the designation "Mister" midway in his work.

Some of the findings: Through the years Indiana has tended to elect older and older men to Congress. Now the median age is 50—early in state history it was 36.

The trend is to longer and longer terms of office by repeated re-election of the same men.

There has been a gradual increase in the number of native-born Hoosiers elected to Congress.

New Congressmen tend to have less and less previous experience in public office.

Throughout history, there have been a preponderance of lawyers elected to Congress from Indiana.

There has been a noticeable trend toward electing those candidates having a high degree of formal education.

Those Billboards

Some day there will be enough gasoline and enough rubber and America will once more take to the highway. In anticipation of that happy hour, the **Illinois Legislative Council** has made a study of *Billboard Control*, pursuant to a resolution on that subject introduced in the state legislature. The Council has neatly marshalled the arguments, the history, the courts' views on every aspect of the subject, statutory regulations in other states. Pending the day when we all take to air travel and leave the roads free for "kiddy kars," this is an important subject, from the standpoint of safety as well as aesthetics.

This and That

Citizens Research, Inc., of Columbus, Ohio, has two recent reports—*Columbus Fire Study* and *Deficit Financing and the Bonded Debt of the City of Columbus*.

Because the postwar period will unquestionably demand the expenditure of public money, the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research** has made a study of the *Possible Role of the State of Minnesota in Postwar Public Works Program*, consisting of an analy-

sis of state fiscal operations during the past ten years.

For the Metropolitan Boston Contest, the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** has published a list of selected references available at the bureau.

Among its leading activities during the past year, the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines** lists, in its April first annual report, the forestalling of a higher 1944 tax, a comprehensive report on city civil service and personnel practices, studies on street paving preservation, postwar planning, and a fight for state aid.

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** muses in a recent issue of *Just a Second*, "About Budget Balancing," on the relative merits of retiring debt out of windfall revenues or of earmarking such extraordinary income for postwar planning.

Joint regional conferences in Los Angeles and Berkeley, California, held by the **Western Governmental Research Association** and the **American Society for Public Administration** in December, are reported in mimeographed *Proceedings* by the WGRA. The postwar period ranked most important in the topics discussed in these streamlined, half-day conferences.

No prepared addresses, but a free exchange of information, marked the proceedings of the Section on Public Library Administration on *County Library Service in Washington* at the Eighth Annual Institute of Government at the University of Washington a few months ago. A transcript is provided by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington**.

The **Philadelphia Bureau**, in *Citizens Business*, recently reviewed the city's borrowing capacity in depressions and concluded that its debt limit should be based on the average of the last ten assessed valuations, instead of, as now,

on the last only. This would give the city more borrowing power during depression periods.

Buffalo's 1944-45 budget and Erie County's tax collections were the subjects of issues of *Just A Moment*, the **Buffalo Bureau's** publication. Similarly, the **San Francisco Bureau** has devoted two bulletins to that city's 1944-45 budget requests.

The **Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee** has examined the need for redistricting the wards of the city, last done in 1931. The Bureau points out that although resolutions and ordinances are passed by a majority vote, that vote could represent only 23 per cent of the voters under present districting.

The first of a series of bulletins on social security has been published by the **Citizens Research Institute of Canada**. It discusses the need for social security, the meaning of the term, and stages in attaining it.

The *Ohio Citizen*, publication of the **Ohio Institute**, examines the prison population trends in that state, and the adequacy of institutional facilities.

The natural gas rate issue in Cleveland was given a thorough airing in the **Citizens League** publication, *Greater Cleveland*.

The **Virginia Bureau of Public Administration** has issued a bibliography on research in the social sciences in Virginia's colleges and universities.

The excessive number of governmental units in Missouri is the subject of an issue of *Dollars and Sense in Government*, published by the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute**.

The **Rochester Bureau's Municipal Research** examines the legal background and the organization of political parties in Monroe County.

Research Bureau Reports

Billboards

Billboard Control. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, March 1944. 20 pp.

Finance

A Report on Deficit Financing and the Bonded Debt of the City of Columbus. Columbus, Ohio, Citizens Research, Inc., December 1943. 30 pp.

Fire

Summary of the Columbus Fire Study. Columbus, Ohio, Citizens Research, Inc., 1943. 15 pp.

Libraries

County Library Service in Washington. Seattle Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, 1944. 13 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Boston Contest — Selected References. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, March 1944. 9 pp.

Postwar Planning

Middletown — Testing Ground for Connecticut Postwar Planning. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1944. 32 pp.

Possible Role of the State of Minnesota in Postwar Public Works Program. Minneapolis, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, March 1944. 30 pp.

Representative Bodies

Indiana's Representatives. By Robert D. Rosenbush. Bloomington, Institute of Politics, Department of Government, Indiana University, 1943. 8 pp.

Miscellaneous

Proceedings, Joint Regional Conference, Western Governmental Research Association and American Society for Public Administration. Berkeley, California, Western Governmental Research Association, 1944. 25 pp.

The Walrus Has the Floor. By William C. Beyer. Philadelphia, the author, 1944. 18 pp.

On the Local Front

Prepared by the Office of Community War Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Municipal Responsibilities in the Field of Recreation— Need for a Summer Program

SOME people think that municipal officials, harassed with a multitude of wartime problems, would be tempted to dismiss any proposal for a "summer recreation program for youngsters" with an impatient: "We can't spend money on frills. There's a war on."

Fortunately men and women experienced in municipal affairs take a more realistic and farsighted view. They realize that a sound recreation program is no less essential to a good community than fire protection, a pure water supply, and well paved streets. For recreation, like these, is a preventive—of human waste. Like these it contributes to the health and well-being of the community. Perhaps even more than these—it helps to determine the quality of what we call community life. It is the outward symbol of the "good community," difficult to define but easy to recognize.

Parks and playgrounds, lighted schoolhouses and civic centers—these speak more eloquently of the calibre of its people than a town's skyscrapers or monuments.

Easier to appreciate are the results of a community's failure to provide for the leisure of its youngsters. Some of these problems are apparent today in overcrowded war areas. They are reflected in turnover and absenteeism among women war workers, in neglected children and mounting rates of delinquency.

Surveys show that a primary cause of absenteeism among women workers

is their inability to make adequate provision for their children. This problem—difficult at all times—is acute during the school vacation periods.

The Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that throughout 1943 absentee rates among women workers have been higher on Saturday, a school holiday, than on other week days. The absentee rate for women dropped from 6.6 in August 1943, a vacation month, to 6.1 in September 1943, a school month.

According to the War Manpower Commission, three hundred mothers in the Los Angeles area quit war jobs on the day school closed, and the local Board of Education met the problem by keeping school facilities open for the summer.

Many progressive communities have recognized that community-wide recreation programs for youngsters—important at all times—are especially necessary during the summer months. In discussing the need, Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, has pointed out that the problem will be a crucial one when more than eighteen million children come out of school for the vacation period, and when increasing numbers of women will be needed to fill the gaps in the manpower ranks.

Municipalities already experienced in providing recreation for young people will find that to extend and expand activities throughout the summer is a relatively easy task. Other

towns, embarking on community-wide programs for the first time, will find helpful guidance in these examples.¹

What Cities Have Done

In **Montgomery County, Maryland**, the 1943 summer program was operated by the Park and Planning Commission in coöperation with the County School Administration. It was financed by \$60,000 appropriated by the Board of County Commissioners. About 2,500 children enrolled at the 21 recreational centers and five day-care centers.

Fifty-three teachers, recommended by the school administration, were appointed as full-time program leaders, and four physical education instructors and coaches, the athletic director, and a school principal from a neighboring state acted as directors. In addition, seventeen part-time leaders, recruited mainly from the teaching staff, were employed, and 52 college and high school students were paid assistants.

Sports scheduled included baseball, softball, horseshoe pitching, tennis, badminton, volley ball, and archery. Instruction was also offered in dancing, music, singing, and handicrafts.

In **San Diego, California**, a joint ordinance created a City-County Recreation Commission with a paid executive secretary. Together the city and county set up a fund of \$15,000 to renovate a camp for boys. A camp director has been hired and the camp will be kept open for eight weeks this summer. With a capacity of 175, it will be used by organizations such as boys' clubs, church clubs, and neighborhood houses and will be open to other youngsters as well. A contract has recently been made between the San Diego City-County Recreation

Commission and the State Park Department, giving the Recreation Commission an abandoned CCC Camp, one of the largest in the area.

Sweetzer, Indiana, a town of 1,000 with no public park or playground, nevertheless solved its recreation problem. The citizens developed a four-acre tract, owned by the school, into a modern playground. Drainage and water systems were provided and play areas were laid out. A quarter-of-a-mile track fourteen feet wide was built, with a baseball diamond inside it, and at the other end of the track was a smaller diamond for younger children. There are tennis courts, a basketball court which may also be used for volley ball, a croquet court, horseshoe courts, swings, bars, and teeters. Two shuffleboard courts have been added and a complete lighting system was installed.

What is the blueprint for action if a town, inexperienced in carrying on summer recreation programs, accepts it as a responsibility of municipal government and sets out to do something about it? Every municipality, of course, has its own way of going about these things, but certain elementary procedures have emerged from the experience of the past and may be of use to those who are embarking on programs for the first time.

To initiate the program, the mayor may appoint a Recreation Committee widely representative of public and private groups and civic leaders. This body usually studies and reports on facilities, funds, and leadership. Recreation leaders from the schools, the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, churches, and other youth groups should have membership on the committee. They can be helpful in planning activities suited to the varied interests of children.

Such organizations as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Parent-

¹Compiled by the Office of Community War Services, Division of Recreation, Washington 25, D. C. Further guidance may be obtained on request.

Teacher Association, should be asked to accept responsibility for some part of the program.

Existing recreation groups should be called upon wherever possible to shoulder increased loads. Youth organizations can serve as a nucleus for a larger program, expand their activities, and integrate them in a community-wide plan.

The chairman of the Board of Education, and other officials of the municipal government having responsibility for parks, playgrounds, and public buildings, should, of course, be part of the Recreation Committee and help to implement its recommendations.

Funds for the Program

Communities without year-round recreation programs will have the problem of finance, and the Recreation Committee has this task as one of its responsibilities. Funds are required to provide a director and activity leaders. Volunteer part-time leaders are extremely important to supplement the paid staff; they are generally sought from the ranks of teachers and students, housewives, business and professional people with special skills. A small additional sum of money will be needed for equipment, transportation, and maintenance. Since recreation is basically a matter of health and welfare, the program is a public concern, and the committee should recommend the expenditure of municipal funds. Generally, the budget can be augmented by contributions from civic-minded organizations and individuals.

While basic plans are being made, the committee should ask local newspapers and radio stations to enlist public support for the program through feature articles, editorials, and broadcasts. Parents can be reached through the schools and the P.T.A.'s.

Most communities have buildings and outside areas which can be put to use for the summer program—

schools, playgrounds, parks and playfields, camp sites, swimming pools, community halls, church buildings, and recreation centers. A thorough survey of all these resources should be made, and plans worked out for their fullest possible use.

Activities arranged directly under municipal departments, as well as those provided by private organizations, should have adult recreation supervisors—paid and volunteer. Older and more responsible youngsters can serve as volunteer aides.

In planning a varied program of activities, consideration must be given to the needs of various ages and interests. For the very young the result may be a "day care" program. For older boys and girls the idea of participation should be stressed.

This is an emergency war job—this job of providing safe and wholesome recreation for children over the summer months.

"It is a responsibility which cannot be ignored by our municipalities," said Mark A. McCloskey, federal director of Community War Services and formerly recreation director of New York City's Department of Education. "The role of the municipal government in meeting the emergency needs of its children, cannot be overemphasized, for without its leadership, its facilities, and its resources, the job will not be done in many American towns. In the light of my own experience in New York City, I am convinced that the free hours of children are a responsibility of every democratic municipal government."

From fire hydrants and paved streets to recreation programs for children is but a short step in the logical expansion of municipal services. But it is a step which will assure that, in our total mobilization for war, we are not at the same time penalizing the generation for whom we fight.

Contributors in Review

LONG known as a public utility expert, **John Bauer** (*Utilities Need Regional Basis*) is well qualified to conduct the survey of public utility organization in large American cities on which he renders the first of several reports in this issue. Dr. Bauer has been director of the American Public Utilities Bureau since 1925. He is a consultant on utility problems and as such has been called in by many cities and states. He is author—or co-author—of a number of volumes including *Public Utility Valuation for Purposes of Rate Control*; *The Electric Power Industry—Development, Organization and Public Policies*; and *National Welfare and Business Stability*.

SINCE 1916 **William P. Lovett** (*One-Man Jury in Action*) has been executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League. During his service with that organization Mr. Lovett has been a leader in local and state affairs. He was organizer and first executive secretary of the Michigan Merit System Association which in 1937 successfully campaigned for the merit system for state employees and is widely known as a speaker and consultant on city charters, county reorganization, state organization and legislation, and the promotion of higher standards of citizenship through citizen organization. Mr. Lovett was a member of the Council of the National Municipal League for nine years and served several terms as secretary of the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

PRIOR to his appointment in 1939 as a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, **James P. Pope** (*Intercity Coöperation Increases*) served as United States Senator from Idaho (1933-1939), when such matters as agriculture and forestry, mines and mining, and irrigation and reclamation claimed a major share of his attention. Senator Pope began the practice of law in Boise, Idaho, and for 24 years he was active in the civic life of his city and state. He served as deputy collector of internal revenue, city attorney, and assistant attorney-general of Idaho, was a member of the Boise Board of Education, and served two terms as mayor of the city.

THE most recent addition to the staff of the National Municipal League makes his formal bow to REVIEW readers in this issue. **Edward W. Weidner** (*Boy Legislature Plan Spreading*) spent two days in Trenton recently, observing the Boy-Legislature in action and interviewing leaders in the project. Mr. Weidner is a graduate of the University of Minnesota (M.A. 1943). More recently he has done work toward a Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin. He has acted as teaching assistant at both universities.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Housing Looms Large for Postwar Era

Correlation Urged for Public Improvements and Master Plans

THE need of fitting housing and other types of postwar public improvements into general plans for community development was stressed at the annual meetings of the American Society of Planning Officials and the National Association of Housing Officials in Chicago last month. The first organization met on May 1, 2, and 3, with some three hundred in attendance, and the second on May 3, 4, and 5, with about five hundred present. A joint meeting occurred May 3.

At the joint session John B. Blandford, Jr., head of the National Housing Agency, urged that federal and local authorities and private interests work together in housing and other community development. He stated that the national government should develop broad economic and fiscal policies designed to promote national prosperity, while local authorities and private enterprise should cooperate on city rebuilding without having to cope at the same time with problems of depression and unemployment.

The housing group received the report of its committee on postwar housing which had been approved by the Association's Board of Governors. This urged that as soon as the manpower and materials situation allows, preferably before the end of hostilities, there should be a start on construction of houses for peacetime, to help provide satisfactory homes for servicemen and war*workers returning to communi-

ties with housing shortages. This would enable the building industry to begin to meet the estimated need of over a million dwelling units per annum for the first fifteen years after the war. The report asserted that the goal of adequate homes for all can be attained if government, private enterprise, and labor cooperate effectively.

The report recommended that a permanent federal housing agency be established now, to be ready for postwar housing activities. Such an agency would coordinate the administration of funds for aid in slum clearance and low-income housing, and supervision of requirements as to need, standards, and planning in justification of federal aid. Actual planning and construction were declared local responsibilities; cessation of federally-constructed and operated housing at the end of the war was advocated. Removal of temporary structures as soon as possible after the war before they deteriorate into slums, care in placing permanent buildings on the market, and leaving the general problem of disposal of war housing to the localities, were also recommended.

Proposals of some real estate representatives for a public rent subsidy instead of public housing were opposed in the report, which stated that a comprehensive postwar housing program would require public housing subsidies—local, state, and federal—for low income groups, and possibly aid in writing off excess land costs to enable development of urban blighted areas by public or private enterprise.

At the first session of the planning group Carl H. Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, warned that unless public works are built in conformance to a master plan, the proper physical development of a city would be seriously handicapped for possibly a gen-

eration or more. He urged prompt determination by the federal government of its postwar policy on public works and grants to local authorities, so as to help localities in their current planning. Most cities, in his opinion, should do their own planning for public improvements, to be built from their own funds so far as possible, but Washington should give immediate planning aid to cities that were unprepared and lacked the means.

The establishment of a federal agency to extend credit on a sound basis was suggested as an alternative to grants. Mr. Chatters estimated that municipal public works would provide employment for only 3 to 8 per cent of the persons who may need new jobs after the war, but declared that they would have a stabilizing influence if properly timed.

A committee report was adopted by the planning group, advocating a metropolitan authority to correlate expected state and federal highway projects with the location and improvement of urban transportation routes and also with housing and other urban developments.

A joint committee on urban redevelopment, with representation of seven national organizations, grew out of the sessions. The seven bodies are the planning society and the housing organization, the American Municipal Association, the Council of State Governments, the United States Conference of Mayors, the Urban Land Institute, and the National Committee on Housing. An early meeting was expected, to formulate principles of federal, state, and local legislation to encourage private builders to reclaim blighted areas.

Fear of unplanned and improperly controlled building activities on the outskirts of cities after the war, with the danger that they will cause further depreciation of central areas and higher community costs, led to emphasis

on comprehensive urban planning both for the center and the periphery.

The two conferences pointed the need of foresight, coordination, and prompt, well guided action, to prevent tragic dislocations and to stimulate wise and widespread physical and social development in the postwar era.

New York Shows Models of Postwar Projects

On May 1 Mayor LaGuardia of New York City opened a Postwar Program Exhibit of that city, prepared by the City Planning Commission at the direction of the Mayor and with the cooperation of city departments and agencies at a cost of \$90,000. It is to be on display for an indefinite time.

The exhibit sets forth the city's \$1,200,000,000 program, planned for the years shortly after the war, and designed to round out the city's physical development along scientific lines. It will guard against postwar unemployment by offering direct employment to over 200,000 at the peak, and indirectly to many more.

The exhibit occupies 8,000 square feet in the former headquarters of the Board of Education and includes a floor map of the city, approximately 15 by 25 feet, on which the postwar projects are shown by colored three-dimensional symbols. Many larger models and details of projects in each of the five boroughs are shown.

The program, much of which is at the blueprint stage, includes express highways, parkways, and other street improvements, rapid transit facilities, bridges, parks, hospital additions, health centers, schools, libraries, playgrounds, housing, markets, sewage disposal plants, sanitation facilities, fire and police stations, water-front improvements, the huge Idlewild airport, and also completion of the vast Delaware River water-supply project. The magnitude of the program is predi-

cated upon the expectation of state and federal financial aid to the extent of at least half the total.

City Home Rule Extended in New York

A bill signed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey¹ rounds out for New York State what is possibly the most useful home rule city charter revision machinery to be found anywhere in the country. The new law makes it possible to put extensive charter revisions on the ballot by petition. It was drafted by the New York Citizens Union and sponsored by the chairmen of the legislature's two Cities Committees, Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh and Assemblyman Harold Ehrlich of Buffalo. In spite of vetoes of similar (but not identical) bills in the two previous years, it passed both houses with little opposition.

New York cities now have the following powers of local legislation, all secured in their present form within the last few years:

1. The power to pass ordinances and local laws on a very wide range of subjects so long as they do not contravene state law. Local legislation on certain important matters is subject to a mandatory referendum or referendum on petition.

2. The power by local law to supersede even acts of the legislature, so long as such acts do not apply to all cities alike, on a considerable number of important subjects, including all matters within the scope of the "property, affairs, and government" of cities as somewhat narrowly interpreted by the courts.

3. The power to control special legislation by the state within the field of property, affairs, and government of cities. The legislature can act within

this field only by general law applying alike in terms and in effect to all cities or by request of each city affected. The request must take the form of a request for a particular bill and must come from the mayor and a majority of the council or from two-thirds of the council.

4. The power to amend a city charter or adopt a new charter by action of the city council in the same way as other local laws. A new charter is always subject to referendum, an amendment sometimes but not always.

5. The power to set up a city charter commission by vote of the people initiated either by the city council or by petition. An initiating petition may name the commission or specify how it is to be chosen. If approved by the voters the commission proceeds to draft a new charter and submit it to the voters, either as a whole or in parts, with alternatives if it thinks best.

6. The power to amend a city charter by petition and popular vote. Two petitions are required, the first to bring the amendment before the city council, the second to force it onto the ballot if the council does not act favorably of its own accord within two months after submission of the first petition. The purpose of the double petition arrangement is to permit the council to correct errors in the amendment or to submit a satisfactory alternative, but not to block an amendment unless the people behind it are satisfied with what the council does.

It is this last power that has just been extended by providing that an amendment may be as extensive as desired and shall not be rejected on the ground that it constitutes a new charter. When originally enacted in 1937 it was intended to cover any sort of amendment, but the courts held that an amendment extensive enough to be considered a new charter could

¹Chapter 602 of the Laws of 1944, signed April 5.

not be presented by petition. This limitation has now been removed.

The new law makes one other change of substance. It requires any city charter amendment submitted by petition to set forth new matter in italics or with underlining and to reproduce old matter to be discarded either in brackets or with lines run through it. This will make it easier to see exactly what changes are proposed.

G.H.H., JR.

Council-Manager Plan News

Two manager cities won first place in their respective population groups in the 1943 national fire waste contest, conducted annually by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in coöperation with the National Fire Waste Council. They were Cincinnati among cities of over 500,000, and Fort Collins, Colorado, among those under 20,000. Other manager cities winning awards in the various population groups were: 250,000 to 500,000, Rochester, New York, Norfolk, Virginia, and Oklahoma City; 100,000 to 250,000, Wichita, Kansas, Sacramento, California, Schenectady, New York, Berkeley, California, and Grand Rapids, Michigan; 50,000 to 100,000, Beaumont, Texas, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Clifton, New Jersey, Roanoke, Virginia, Hamilton, Ohio, and Austin, Texas; 20,000 to 50,000, Gastonia, North Carolina, Watertown, New York, Charlottesville, Virginia, and Bluefield, West Virginia; under 20,000, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, and Gainesville, Florida.

Manager communities winning awards in the national health contest sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the American Public Health Association were: Arlington County, Virginia, Austin, Texas, Hackensack, New Jersey, Houston, Texas, Jackson, Michigan, Pasadena, California, San Jose, California, and Schenectady, New York.

Eugene, Oregon, voting on May 19, adopted a council-manager charter. On the same day **Salem, Oregon**, defeated a manager proposal.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Independence, Oregon**, has been devoting much attention to the manager plan. A committee of three was appointed in April to meet with a committee from the City Council and the Women's Club to investigate the feasibility of the plan for that city.

Mayor E. S. Johnston of **Pasco, Washington**, has advocated the manager plan before the City Planning Commission, which referred the proposal to a committee in April.

Ottumwa, Iowa, will vote on adoption of a council-manager charter at a special election on June 20.

Petitions for a change to the manager plan have been in process of circulation in **Columbus, Ohio**.

The town of **Crystal, Maine**, voted at its annual town meeting to abandon the manager plan.

Boston Stages Greatest Cleanup in Its History

The Finance Commission of the city of Boston has reported to the Mayor and the City Council that since the first of the year Boston has witnessed probably the greatest physical cleanup in its history of streets, private ways, alleys, backyards, and vacant lots. This was done without new legislation or abnormal additions to city personnel or equipment.

In the conclusion of its report the Commission said: "The administrative pattern of the city government through the Health, Fire, Public Works, and Police Departments has been set up and clothed with adequate authority to attain a desirable standard of cleanliness. The recent successful cleanup drive represented the proper functioning of those several agencies. It repre-

sented also the coöperation of the public, an essential element in the picture."

Nine States Cooperate for Missouri River Development

The Missouri Valley States Committee,¹ now comprising representatives of nine states, Colorado having joined in March, is striving to reconcile conflicting interests and to overcome difficulties in the way of plans for the basin-wide development of the Missouri River valley, according to the Council of State Governments. An engineering committee has been appointed; representatives of each member state are to work with engineers of the Bureau of Reclamation, the Army, and the Department of Agriculture.

Virginia Legislative Council Makes Many Studies

Recently enlarged from seven to nine members, the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council has been assigned a wide variety of subjects for research and study to assist the next legislature, according to the Council of State Governments.

It is to make a survey and report on industrial development, postwar employment, and aviation in Virginia. Other studies include the advisability of a cancer control division and the possibilities of a laboratory and additional office space for the State Health Department, revision of regulations governing building and loan associations, an over-all tax structure, fishing, hunting, trapping, and dog licenses, laws relating to fiduciaries, revision of annuity tables for insurance, pollution control, causes of boiler explosions and the extent to which they could be prevented by boiler inspections, and the advisability of revising the sanitary district code.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1943, p. 550.

Citizen Action

Another Citizens' Council for Kansas

Kansas City and Wyandotte Co. Organize for Clean-up Program

AT A recent meeting of representatives of Kansas City, Kansas, and of Wyandotte County, a Citizens' Council of 59 members, and many more in prospect, was organized. Because the city occupies so large a part of the county, and because the problems of city and county are so closely related that they are in reality identical, the new organization took as its name **The Citizens' Council of Wyandotte County.**

The city and county are the most heavily populated of any in Kansas. Since they are on the eastern border of Kansas and just across the river from Kansas City, Missouri, their civic problems, like many border communities, have been greatly accentuated. Following the downfall of the Pendergast regime in Kansas City, Missouri, and the cleaning up processes which have followed, many of the worst elements who formerly plied their trades in the Missouri city have taken refuge in Kansas. Perhaps the majority of these have found shelter and a promising field in Wyandotte County. It is widely reported that lawlessness of many types is very active in the Kansas community, and that liquor and gambling joints and places of disorder abound.

Therefore, the first emphasis of the new Citizens' Council is to be a clean-up program. In line with this purpose a strong law enforcement committee, headed by Frank H. Korab, was appointed. Mr. Korab is a widely known business man and a prominent

Congregationalist actively identified with the Laymen's Fellowship movement.

The new Council has no intention of confining its efforts to a program of law enforcement, however, important as that may be. It envisions a program that will develop a comprehensive civic interest in the city and county, be a focus for a great variety of civic activities, and a continuing force for good citizenship. E. A. Benson, prominent Kansas City business man, was elected president. Many of the foremost clergymen of the city have identified themselves with the Council and many representative citizens have pledged their support.

P. P. WOMER,
President Emeritus

Washburn College

Rochester, New York, Welcomes New Citizens with Banquet

The Chamber of Commerce of Rochester, New York, paid tribute to 459 naturalized citizens at a dinner and program on April 20, to give recognition of their new affiliation and welcome them into the great body of citizens.

The huge ballroom of the Commerce Building was crowded with tables at each of which Chamber members and their wives served as host and hostess to welcome the new recipients of "final papers." Although there were an unprecedented number of new citizens at this banquet, there were more than enough hosts and their wives to go around, indicating the decided interest of the community in this enterprise.

During dinner badges bearing "New Citizen" were distributed. One Italian-American remarked proudly, "Ah, I'll wear this to work tomorrow and show them." The pride of one Russian-born new citizen was vividly revealed when he joyously waved to her full-grown American-born children who had come

as spectators to celebrate the accomplishment by a parent of a step they had steadily encouraged.

The Chamber orchestra played during the dinner and for the lusty group singing which followed. This included a new verse to be sung to the tune of "America" which was written by one of the guests to express the feelings of naturalized citizens toward their adopted country:

From foreign shores to thee,
Champion of liberty,
We found our way.
Though not in flesh born here,
Our love is as sincere
For thee, whom we hold dear
To our last day.

The program consisted of the Color Ceremony by the American Legion, the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" with the Pledge to the Flag, selections by a high school chorus and folk dancing by a school group, two short addresses, and the singing of "Land of Our Choice." A standing roll call of citizens by land of birth showed 37 countries represented. Each guest shook hands with the president of the Chamber, the speaker of the evening, and the chairman of the **Council for Better Citizenship** in a reception which concluded the program.

This was the 59th affair of its kind which the Rochester Chamber has held in the last 25 years. Under the auspices of the Council for Better Citizenship it also enlisted the cooperation of proper officials in the federal, state, city, and county governments as well as the Council of Boy Scouts, American Legion, Rochester Board of Education, and the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*. Representatives of each of these groups were seated at the speakers' table along with one new citizen representing the honored guests, industrialists who have constantly had new citizens in their employ, and the heads of other civic and education

groups. The federal government was there in the persons of two directors of the United States Immigration Service at Buffalo and Rochester.

Such dinners are the periodic climax of work which the Chamber staff has for a quarter of a century carried on, proffering aid to aliens and training them for admission to citizenship. This responsibility in most cities has been conducted haphazardly if at all. In recent years as the war clouds gathered and broke, there has been an increasing interest in inaugurating new citizens and a nationwide "Citizenship Day" has been set up. But to make certain that this country-wide emphasis is not just a wartime phenomenon but a permanent community activity, the undertaking should be assumed by some responsible community agency. The long successful experience of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce should commend this same work to similar groups elsewhere. New citizens are certain to understand better their privileges and accept more readily responsibilities when the federal naturalization is accompanied by local education and celebration.

JOHN A. PERKINS
University of Rochester

New Citizens Committee Active in Rockland, Maine

Civic interest and activity have taken a long step forward in Rockland, Maine. It all began in February when the **Rockland Chamber of Commerce** appointed a committee on municipal research, headed by Edward C. Moran, Jr., former Congressman and commissioner of the U. S. Maritime Commission, to investigate the possibilities of an active citizens research committee.

The committee found widespread interest in the proposal; six of the seven living ex-mayors favored it, for example. Although the city had not been too badly run, the legal debt limit was

being approached. The committee concluded that the city faced both an immediate and a long-term problem. The immediate problem was preparation for the postwar period. The long-term problem was good municipal government, present in every community.

In order to meet these problems the committee felt that a citizens research group would help keep the citizenry informed and continuously alert. In March the committee recommended unanimously the establishment of an independent citizens committee.

Later that same month, after a public invitation to citizens to volunteer for service on such a committee, the **Rockland Citizens Committee on Municipal Research** was formed. Mr. Moran was continued as chairman.

The activity of the group since its organization has been great. About 150 citizens have volunteered. Subcommittees on public works, education, administration, insurance, public safety, finance, legal activity, health and welfare, civil service, and planning and zoning were established. The elected chairmen of the subcommittees together with the general chairman constitute the executive committee. Each has in turn divided itself into two or more further subcommittees to study and report upon specific subjects.

The subcommittees have been assigned their duties, and a suggested short reading course has been drawn up for their benefit. The Rockland Public Library has cooperated by drawing up a bibliography and by arranging that the State Library make available volumes on many phases of municipal affairs in Rockland for use by committee members. In addition, the committee has purchased additional material independently and through the library which is coordinating purchases in order to assure a useful selection. The reading list includes standards and works on city government, the

theory and practice of municipal administration, and many National Municipal League and International City Managers Association publications.

The committee has already issued a collection of statistical data designed to give basic historical and current facts about the city's population and financial affairs. In addition to being a project in adult education and the creation of sustained civic interest, two objectives are in view: (1) The making of a survey of Rockland's municipal government by its citizens to culminate in a report of findings with recommendations; (2) the presentation of a proposed new city charter to the state legislature in January 1945 embodying such provisions as may appear from the survey to be desirable. If approved, the charter would be subject to referendum.

Here and There—

Advice from an Expert

"I was born with a subscription card in one hand and my first recorded words were, 'How much will you give?'" said Mrs. Dwight Morrow, widow of the former ambassador to Mexico. The occasion of the remark was a tea at the home of Mrs. Arthur Lehman during the recent finance drive of the **New York City League of Women Voters**. Some points made by Mrs. Morrow, as reported in *The Active Voter*, include: (1) Every member should undertake to raise money. (2) Don't use the excuse, I can't do this sort of thing. Your ability to do it depends on your faith in the organization for which you are asking the contribution. (3) Never say if we raise the money. Say . . . when we raise the money. (4) In these days of continuous money-raising the technique of asking must keep one step ahead of the technique of refusing.

Cincinnati Women Organize

The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee**, one of the most active city parties in the country, announces the formation of a **Charter Women's Club**. "Many women in the Charter movement have felt that between elections they completely lose track of each other, not to mention the Councilmen whom they had labored so hard to elect," says the *Charter News Letter*. "They propose to remedy this by meeting informally a few times each year with Charter officials and Councilmen to hear about current events in Council and the city at large."

* * *

Primary Candidates and Issues

Greater Cleveland, issued by the **Cleveland Citizens League**, devotes two issues to its pre-primary report on candidates. This year, for the first time, the League recommendations have been extended to include candidates for Congress from the three districts within Cuyahoga County, and to state offices other than governor and lieutenant governor. League recommendations are expressed in these terms: preferred, well qualified, qualified, not qualified, not recommended, should be defeated.

The **Hamilton County Good Government League** at Cincinnati lists candidates for state offices in the Republican and Democratic primaries and gives instructions as to who is qualified to vote in the primaries.

The **Ohio League of Women Voters** sent questionnaires to candidates for governor asking: (1) What do you consider your special qualifications for the office you seek? (2) What is your idea of the relationship which should exist between the legislature and the executive? Of ten candidates running in the primaries of the two major parties, seven replied. Other candidates were asked the first question only. Re-

plies were published in the *Ohio Woman Voter*.

A seventeen-page pamphlet listing candidates for all federal and state offices to be elected in the county has been published by the **Civic Club of Allegheny County** (Pittsburgh). Information given is obtained from the candidates themselves. The Civic Club gives information only and does not make recommendations.

The **Portland City Club** issued a comprehensive report on four issues submitted to the city's voters in May: sewage disposal bond issue, dock commission program, school tax levy, and highway bond issue. The Club's *Bulletin* carried the complete reports of the committees which had made studies of the proposals. Just previous to election the Club held a "special election forum" to discuss the issues.

* * *

How Not to Be a Good Citizen

Supplementing its release analyzing the non-registered population in the city of Chicago,¹ the **Citizens Association of Chicago** has now issued "Ward Scores in the Primary Election" in which it states, "The April primary election marked a low point in the record of citizen participation in the activities of representative government." For the city as a whole 59.5 per cent of the registered voters failed to vote at the April 1944 primary election, as compared to 32.7 per cent in the primaries of the last presidential year, 1940.

* * *

Now It Makes Sense!

Oh, Mazie votes and Lizzie votes
And Uncle Josh and wifey,
The kids'll be voting, too,
How about you?
Yes, Susie writes and Gussie writes

And Congressmen step lively,
Our boys write to Senators, too,
Why not you?
If you think you're not important
enough
Please just change your mind in a
hurry,
Vote, vote each time and fall in line
Make dictators grey with worry.
Oh, Mazie votes and Lizzie votes
And Uncle Josh and Wifey,
The kids'll be voting, too,
HOW ABOUT YOU? ? ?

—From *The Active Voter*, issued by the
New York City League of Women Voters

* * *

School Enrollment

The **Holyoke (Mass.) Taxpayers Association** has issued a bulletin on school enrollment in Holyoke. The report compares attendance figures for the past twenty years in all public and parochial schools. No such comparative school figures had been made available previously and percentages of loss in the high school and elementary divisions came as a surprise to many.

* * *

Merit System in Peril?

Warning that the merit system in the civil service will face a critical period in the postwar transition from a war to a peace economy, the annual report of the **National Civil Service Reform League**, adopted at its 62nd annual meeting, declares that it will be necessary to make government service more attractive in salaries, in opportunities to advance, and in reward for unusual capacity and accomplishment if we are to encourage persons of unusual talent and training to continue to serve after the war. The League points to two threats to the merit system: (1) the clamor for political patronage, now relatively less active but ready to burst out when opportunities for industrial employment de-

¹See "Chicago Group Investigates Non-registration," *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, April 1944, p. 205.

cline after the war; (2) the zeal of politicians vying for the soldier vote by securing laws virtually turning over all government places to war veterans without considering the demoralizing effect that these hastily conceived, sweeping proposals may have on the efficient management of our governmental agencies.

* * *

New Constitution

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** has notified its membership and that of affiliated local taxpayers associations and committees on public spending that it approves the revised state constitution which will be submitted to the voters at the November election. It urges those groups to work for the constitution's adoption. In a recent issue of *Taxegram* the Association comments that a number of its long-term objectives have been accomplished by the present legislative session "which will go down in history with an epoch-making record for drastic and vitally needed reforms in state government and administration."

* * *

Let's Discuss It

Spring is evidently the time for civic groups to get together to discuss the year's work and lay plans for another season.

Among the **State Leagues of Women Voters** holding conventions are those in **New York**, meeting May 16-17 at Glens Falls; **Massachusetts**, May 16-17, at Boston; **Wisconsin**, May 9-10, at Green Bay; and **Minnesota**, May 17-18, at St. Paul. The **New York City League** held its annual meeting on May 24.

The **State Taxpayers' Association of Arizona** celebrated 30 years of service at its recent annual meeting. "It is evident that the record of these years has been one of steady progress toward accomplishment of the aims of the

organization," states its *Taxpayers' Magazine*.

The **Yonkers (N. Y.) Committee of 100** held its annual meeting on April 27; the **Albany (N. Y.) City Club** met on May 20; the **Detroit Citizens League** held its annual meeting on April 24, addresses and discussion centering around Detroit and Wayne County.

Community Service, Inc., announces a ten-day conference on "The Postwar American Community—What Its Possibilities Are and How They Can Be Realized," to be held July 5-15 at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The Citizens Conference on Postwar Planning of the **American Planning and Civic Association** meets in St. Louis June 14-16. This year's conference celebrates the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Civic Association at St. Louis in 1904.

Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, addressed the **Citizens League of Baltimore** at one of a series of meetings sponsored by the League in its study of a revision of Baltimore's charter. Dr. Reed recommended adoption of the council-manager form of government with proportional representation for electing the City Council.

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Strictly Personal

The Seattle Municipal League announces the appointment of **C. A. Crosser**, director of the Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research for the past eighteen years, as its new secretary. Mr. Crosser succeeds Ewen C. Dingwall who resigned some months ago.

Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president of the New York City League of Women Voters for six years and now its honorary president, was elected president of the National League of Women Voters at its recent biennial convention in Chicago. Miss Strauss succeeds Miss Marguerite Wells, who has been national president since 1934.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Irish Dail Elected Again by P. R.

Constitutional Proposals Introduced in Missouri

BEFORE this department appears in print the Irish Dail Eirean will have been elected by the Hare system of proportional representation for the tenth time. The election has been scheduled for May 30.

On May 9 Premier De Valera was defeated on a government transport bill by a vote of 64 to 63 and promptly appealed to the people, although the last election was held less than a year ago. He was criticized by minority leaders, who wished him to remain as prime minister even though they could not agree to support him on every issue, for being unwilling to adjust himself to democratic controls.

Mr. De Valera has held office continuously since 1937, most of that time with an absolute majority in the Dail, but last June his Fianna Fail party won 67 seats to a total of 71 for all others. His was easily the largest party delegation, however, and he was re-elected premier with the help of independent and minority party votes. Mr. De Valera has always been impatient of restraints and took the first opportunity to appeal to the people for a renewal of the absolute majority control which his government has enjoyed during most of its long life.

The government's neutrality policy is not the issue. That is agreed to by nearly all members of the Dail.

Under the constitution of Eire not only the parliament but all other representative bodies are elected by a

system of P. R. similar to that used in New York, Cincinnati, and other American P. R. cities. Mr. DeValera was one of the original advocates of the plan. Speaking at the annual convention of Sinn Fein organizations (Ard Fheis) in Dublin in 1919, he said:

Minorities have rights, and if Sinn Fein had all the machinery of government in their power, they would secure the right of minorities. Every man living in this island is of equal value in it, and each man and woman would get the share to which he or she is entitled. Whether it [P. R.] benefited us or not, I would be in favor of the principle, because it is justice.

Nearly all Irish leaders have taken the same position and the system, first imposed by the British Parliament to safeguard Irish minorities, has been voluntarily continued, first in the 1922 constitution of the Irish Free State and then in the 1937 constitution of Eire.

Two or three times Mr. DeValera has hinted that if the plan did not give any one party a majority he might favor reconsideration of it at a popular referendum, but no such move has actually been made and most of the time the results have given no occasion to consider it. The record of Ireland for stable government under P. R. may well be the envy of Europe.

P. R. Before Missouri Constitutional Convention

Stratford Lee Morton of St. Louis, Republican delegate to the Missouri Constitutional Convention, has introduced a proposal (No. 41) to revise the amending procedure of the constitution and provide for the election of constitutional conventions by P. R. Under this proposal the question of electing a convention would be submitted in 1962 and every twentieth year thereafter and whenever the General Assembly wished to submit it at other times. If the vote were favorable,

delegates to a convention would be elected at a special election as follows:

Delegates shall be elected by proportional representation. Except as otherwise provided herein, any qualified voter of the state shall be eligible to membership in the convention. As many delegates shall be elected to the convention from each existing legislative district as there are representatives in the General Assembly from that district; in addition there shall be elected from the state at large, by the Hare system of proportional representation, a number of delegates equalling one-fifth of the membership of the General Assembly.

The present convention was elected, not by P.R., but with an arbitrary provision which assured a large representation from the second party. Two members, one from each of the two largest parties, were elected from each of the state's 34 senatorial districts, and fifteen were elected by majority vote at large.

This method, though it assures minority representation, is obviously defective in that it denies the voters in each district the right to make a choice and to give the more popular party an advantage over its principal rival.

Efforts are being made to apply the principle of minority representation in better form to future elections of the legislature. One proposal is to have five members elected together by P. R. from each of the state's thirteen Congressional districts. A one-house legislature is strongly favored in a minority report of the convention's committee on the legislative department signed by Mr. Morton and others, who are trying to have such a plan submitted to the voters by the convention as an alternative to the majority plan.

Efforts are also being made to change the language of the constitution relating to the qualifications of voters so as to remove the basis for challenging the constitutionality of P.R. for

local elections under the precedents of the adverse decisions in three of the six states whose highest courts have ruled on the question.¹

Developments in Cambridge under "Plan E"

The second city council elected by P.R. in Cambridge has continued Colonel John B. Atkinson in office as city manager and the new regime of businesslike administration under "Plan E"—the council-manager plan with P.R.—has gone forward without interruption. Efforts to remove Colonel Atkinson as manager were defeated five to four, former Mayor Lynch, who was supported by the Plan E Committee in the first P.R. election but not in 1943, voting with the four Plan E Committee councillors, Mayor Corcoran, Morton, Gerould, and Pill, against Sennott, Sullivan, Cassidy, and Neville.

Different alignments appear in the recent votes on other important issues. The councillors continue to follow their individual judgments. One significant move is an appropriation of \$1800 for the employment of a city planner to assist the Planning Board in the preparation of postwar plans.

City Manager Atkinson presented a budget this spring which reduced the amount to be raised by tax levy by \$417,000. The Council reduced it \$18,000 more. The total tax levy budget is approximately \$8,190,000.

Plan E Committee members constitute a majority of the School Committee elected last fall, Mayor Corcoran (ex-officio) and three of the six members elected directly. The one new Plan E Committee member is Dr. Rich-

¹P. R. has been held unconstitutional in Michigan, California, and Rhode Island; constitutional in Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts. Missouri now has constitutional language similar to that on which the arguments in these other states were based.

ard M. Gummere of Harvard University, former head master of William Penn Charter School in Philadelphia.

The vote cast in Cambridge last fall in the P. R. election of City Council and School Committee, though only 55 per cent of registration, was the heaviest percentage vote cast in any city in the state of Massachusetts. It is estimated that some 20 per cent of the registered voters were actually absent from the city, in the armed forces or in war work.

On April 4 the 30th annual debate of the Durrell Debating Society of the Cambridge High and Latin School was held on the subject: "Resolved, that the American system of proportional representation should be generally adopted in American cities."

These notes are gleaned from Volume 1, number 1, of a new publication, *Plan E in Cambridge*, to be published from time to time by the Plan E Committee which sponsored Cambridge's present form of government and has recommended candidates at both P. R. elections.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Finance Subject of New Study

Census Bureau Report Covers Three Thousand Local Units

IN a report entitled *State Summary of County Government Finances in 1942*, dated April 1944, the U. S. Bureau of the Census has issued "a preprint of the summary section of the compendium on *County Finances: 1942* to be issued by the Bureau of the Census this summer." The complete report will give a detailed account of the finances of each of the 3,050 independent county

governments, excluding only those 50 areas where there is nothing sufficiently comparable to county government for valid analysis. A second preliminary report to be issued shortly will interpret major trends and recent tendencies in county finance.

The present summary report embodies seven tables of county finances presented in the form of state totals. Table I compares county finances for 1932 and 1942 on the basis of revenue, expenditure, and gross debt. Table II identifies the major sources of 1942 county revenue, and Table III indicates the primary purposes of current and capital expenditures. Tables IV and V present separate figures distinguishing current and capital expenditures for various functions in eighteen selected states. Table VI indicates county debt trends and shows the extent of such debt outstanding in 1942. Table VII is a general information table which includes data on area, population analysis and trends, county employment and payrolls, urban governments, retail sales, and federal income tax returns filed.

Three methods of collecting the material were employed. More than half the data was collected from state auditors, state tax commissions, and other state offices that receive local government reports. In states which were not organized to collect the information needed for this report, a direct mail canvass of the counties was made through use of forms devised for this purpose. A third method, used only to a limited degree, involved field agent collection of the data directly from the counties.

The forthcoming *County Finances: 1942* will mark the most complete study of county finances to date, since the 1940 and 1941 studies attempted to cover selected large urban counties in detail and certain additional counties only in summary fashion.

1943 County Government Improvements Summarized

Although frequently termed the "dark continent of American politics" county governments have, during the past year, made numerous strides toward good government. A study by the International City Managers Association lists improvements in financial administration, health, and welfare facilities, and various other services during the past year. It cites scores of counties, for example, which are building up post-war reserve funds, particularly in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Maine, and New Hampshire. North Dakota counties are commended for their improved accounting, auditing, and budgeting procedures. Rutherford County, Tennessee, reforms include a complete annual audit by an independent agency, centralized purchasing, and strict adherence to its budget.

All of Michigan's counties, with the exception of Wayne (Detroit), now use the calendar year as the fiscal year and Wisconsin county highway departments, with state financial assistance, are devising a uniform accounting system. In Kentucky the State Department of Revenue is authorized to give examinations for county assessors seeking office, the constitutional question having been adjudicated.

Many Nebraska and Illinois counties are working toward the establishment of joint county or district health departments under recent permissive legislation. Indiana counties now may discontinue county indigent homes whenever the number of occupants becomes ten or less.

The last year has seen continued expansion of county rural library service. Nevada counties now are spending up to \$3,000 a year to establish county libraries. Illinois' legislature last year authorized the creation of public library districts and allowed an increase in tax

rates for support of county libraries.

In the merit system field, Ramsey and St. Louis Counties, Minnesota, two of the state's most populous counties, have set up civil service systems as authorized by voters in November 1942. Other counties which placed civil service systems in operation as a result of authorization by voters include Wayne County, Michigan, San Mateo County, California, and Warren and Burlington Counties, New Jersey. The merit system became operative in all New York counties last July 1, and during the year Wisconsin authorized any county to establish both a civil service and a pension system.

Wayne County Again Considers Home Rule

Home rule for Wayne County will be presented to the voters of Michigan next November in the form of a proposed constitutional amendment. A similar proposal was rejected in 1942.¹

A recent issue of *The Civic Searchlight*, published by the Detroit Citizens League, discusses various aspects of the question. Of chief concern is the problem of minority control. The Michigan constitution permits city and county separation only if the area outside the central city agrees, by majority vote, with the central city in favor of such separation. Residents of the area outside the central city, representing only a fractional part of the population and wealth of the county but securing disproportionate benefits from the county property tax which is most productive within the city, naturally oppose any attempt at separation. Furthermore, spokesmen from that area vigorously defend a governmental structure which secures for them disproportionate strength on the county board.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, p. 386; February 1943, p. 105.

The article finally discusses results of city-county separation and consolidation in other metropolitan areas as offering possible solutions for the Detroit problem.

Pennsylvania Township Supervisors Meet

The Pennsylvania State Association of Township Supervisors at its recent annual convention adopted resolutions providing:

1. Requests for additional authority to engage in health, police, sidewalk construction and planning activities;
2. Opposition to further transfer of township roads to the state;
3. Opposition to federal taxation of local governmental bonds;
4. Endorsement of a postwar highway improvement program.

City-County Unification Again Proposed for Cleveland

The Citizens League of Cleveland strongly urges city-county consolidation as the only cure for the confusion resulting from the area's 54 overlapping governments. The League is strongly opposed to piecemeal functional consolidation because it believes that only complete consolidation can produce a satisfactory unified government to meet the problems of the social and economic unit that constitutes greater Cleveland.

Some time ago the director of the League made a tour of metropolitan centers where various methods of consolidation had been attempted, and it is on the basis of these observations that he concludes, in an article in *Greater Cleveland*, that the solution for Cleveland must be "a city-county charter unifying and consolidating the separate urban governments, but retaining local boroughs for the administration of strictly local affairs."

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Cities' Postwar Projects Estimated at Billion a Year

Many Cities Reply on Federal Aid to Help Finance Projects

MUNICIPAL planning for public improvements to cushion the shock of demobilization in the postwar period has now reached a point where it is possible to estimate the aggregate volume of expenditures which may be forthcoming.

Excluding expenditures by the states, there seems reason to believe that about a billion dollars a year may be expended for a period ranging from three to five years after the end of the war. A considerable part of this volume has reached the blueprint stage—part is ready for contract letting, in fact, but much of the program is still tentative.

An estimate of at least four and one half billions to be expended within five years of the war's end is made by the International City Managers Association, which polled cities of 10,000 population and over in preparation for the postwar discussion in the 1944 *Municipal Year Book*. While the total is impressive, it is especially interesting that sewer and sewage disposal projects lead the list of proposals among reporting cities, with street improvements second. Airports, although a matter of considerable concern in some cities, ranked seventh.

Project totals for the individual cities are of course led by New York City, with between \$1,200,000,000 and \$1,500,000,000 pending. Chicago has something over \$1,000,000,000. Other large programs include \$300,000,000 for Philadelphia, \$255,000,000 for Detroit,

\$150,000,000 for Cleveland, \$72,000,000 for Milwaukee, and \$60,000,000 for St. Louis. Most of the more ambitious plans rely heavily on the expectation that considerable federal aid will be available to help finance the projects, anticipation of 50 per cent of the total from this source not being uncommon. Many smaller places, however, expect to meet all or nearly all the cost without outside aid, either from funds presently being accumulated or by sale of their own bonds.

No. 1 Expenditure: War

Expenditures at the federal level are not usually a subject of discussion in this column, but a recent issue of *Tax Policy*, the monthly bulletin of the Tax Institute, contains a highly interesting review of war-cost estimates which are herewith passed along for REVIEW readers.

Noting that "The cost of war is not measured in dollars and cents," Dr. Mabel L. Walker, editor of the bulletin, assembles a variety of authorities on the dollar costs of earlier wars. The National Industrial Conference Board estimated in 1925 that the cost of wars to the United States for the period 1775-1921 was almost \$53,000,000,000. This included nearly \$14,000,000,000 for the Civil War and just over \$33,000,000,000 for World War No. 1, whose total costs are estimated by Professor Seligman at about \$210,000,000,000.

Between 1930 and the end of 1938, about \$62,000,000,000 was spent in preparation for the present war by all combatants. Since the outbreak of the European war in 1939, the rate of expenditure has greatly accelerated, and Dr. Walker sees to the end of 1944 a cost to the belligerent governments of close to \$900,000,000,000, with the "trillion" mark to be reached some time in 1945.

War expenditures through the fiscal year 1943 are estimated at approxi-

mately \$330,739,000,000 for the United Nations and \$251,252,000,000 for the enemy, with an added \$49,600,000,000 lost in indemnity and loot by occupied European nations and unknown costs in loot, etc., in China, the South Pacific, and elsewhere. The largest enemy costs are to Germany itself, with an estimated \$218,000,000,000. Among the United Nations, Russia has made the greatest expenditure, an estimated \$140,000,000,000, followed by the United States with \$106,078,000,000, and Great Britain with \$58,200,000,000.

California to Amend Constitution

At the May 16 election California voters adopted an amendment to the state constitution removing the present restriction in California against taxation of any property owned by the federal government or its agencies.

Federal property is, of course, exempt from taxation by the states and their agencies, in general, but Congress had by law authorized the taxation of property held by numerous federal agencies, and a large number of the states have taken advantage of this privilege. California, however, has been unable to join the procession to date, although it is stated that some 43 per cent of the state's land area is now held by the federal government.

Martial Law Increases Honolulu Costs

The 1944 budget of the city and county of Honolulu is up nearly one-third from 1943, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association, as a result of war conditions in Hawaii. The total for this year is \$12,675,726, an increase of \$3,881,200 over 1943. About \$1,300,000 is for salary increases, necessary to retain employees in the face of competition from federal agencies and war contractors. Operations of the military courts and liquor con-

trol agencies are expected to yield the city a current revenue of \$859,000.

Bond Authorizations Increase

During the first four months of 1944 municipalities have approved issuance of \$24,554,000 bonds, according to the *Daily Bond Buyer*. This represents a definite upward swing, as a summary of *Bond Buyer* figures shows:

	April	Four Months
1941	\$8,957,000	\$30,057,000
1942	7,051,000	22,482,000
1943	1,378,000	1,929,000
1944	7,546,000	24,554,000

Significant was the fact that the April 1944 authorizations were more numerous than in any one month since November 1942. During the month \$11,680,000 of bonds were voted down, but \$11,500,000 of this was a proposed issue of electric and power plant revenue bonds rejected by the voters of Madison, Wisconsin. During April 1943, the total voted down had been \$8,560,000.

Tries Local Income Tax to Offset Homestead Tax Exemption

Florida's \$5,000 homestead tax exemption has severely reduced local property taxes, and the city of Fort Myers, faced with the need of additional funds for current purposes and to accumulate a reserve for postwar improvements, has decided to try a local income tax as a replacement. The tax, modeled on Philadelphia's income tax, will be used for a 60-day period to determine its productivity.

The Fort Myers tax will be levied at the rate of one-half of one per cent on the gross receipts of every person, firm, or business operating within the city. Payment of the tax will be a prerequisite to securing or retaining an occupational license. The tax will also be made a lien on the property of the taxpayer. Half the receipts will be used for general purposes and half to set up

a "postwar public works and employment security reserve fund."

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 276)

functioning closed session method of the Scranton School Board with the open meetings of the City Council which, he says, have resulted in unwarranted delays, lawsuits, recriminations, and name-calling. He thinks it would be much better if the Council and administration sat down in executive session and "calmly and deliberately and without the interference of crackpots or special interest groups discussed the problems at hand and then formally took them into open meeting."

Fortunately there are a good many communities which would be deeply shocked by sentiments such as these, where government is not looked on solely as an agency to get things done "efficiently and quickly and with the least amount of noise, debate, and interference," where it is recognized that there is a fundamental difference between operating a business to show a profit and operating a self-governing community to serve a people. Big business is not exactly a public self-governing proposition.

Granted, democracy must achieve efficiency. The crumbling of the inefficient democracies in the path of the dictatorships (for a time) offers eloquent testimony of this need. But we can lose our democratic heritage also if the public's business be permitted to function in a vacuum and appear in the open only after all the rough edges have been carefully polished and sugar coated.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Lords of the Levee. By Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1943. 384 pp. \$3.

Bathhouse John and Hinky Dink, the two real but incredible persons who for 50 years were Chicago politicians and for 30 years were principals in its municipal drama, play their nauseous roles once more in this book, which should fascinate all those who realize that though politics is a science it is played by artists. The two authors show great industry in unearthing many details and also a fine sense for highlights so that the almost four hundred pages are never tedious. The result is a story which, while it will not edify today's generation, will let them know the manner of men their grandfathers were who gave power to such tawdry characters as John J. Coughlin and Michael Kenna—the real names of the "Lords of the Levee."

Because the authors are men as well as reporters they cannot help putting some interpretation into their recital but they have subordinated the question of values to what may be called political photography. Consequently the book may well be used by those concerned with teaching intelligent American citizenship; it is as important to know the story of Hinky Dink as it is that of Hamilton, and of Bathhouse John as of Lincoln.

The great state of Illinois lags in the process of bettering the government of large cities because its constitution provides neither for direct legislation nor for municipal home rule. In Chapter 14 in particular we are aware of the "back-drop" this produces and its effect on the story. The story presents not only full length pictures of the two men who were the lords of that malodorous area, but also glimpses of those

who provided them with funds—they still provide them for what are today less colorful but more subtle and "respectable" politicians than were the "heroes" of this book.

WALTER J. MILLARD

The Administration of the American Public Library. By E. W. McDiarmid and John McDiarmid. Chicago, American Library Association, 1944. xii, 250 pp. \$3.

This study of public library administration emphasizes both the librarian and the public administrator aspects of the subject. By questionnaire and interview, over two hundred libraries of all sizes in all parts of the country were included in the study. Board-librarian relationships, library executives, departmentation, finance, personnel, and planning are some of the phases examined.

EDWARD W. WEIDNER

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Administration

An Agency Management Program: A guide for self-appraisal and planning economies in operation. By Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 12 pp.

Question Period for Cabinet Members and Heads of Independent Agencies During Sessions of House—Better Teamwork Between Congress and Executive Departments. By Estes Kefauver. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943. 13 pp.

Business and Government

The American Way—Business Freedom or Government Control? By Max-

well S. Stewart. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1944. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Education

Educational Inbreeding. By Harold E. Snyder. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. x, 160 pp. \$2.35.

Fire

A List of Cities and Towns of Texas with Fire Protection and Fire Record Data. Austin, Board of Insurance Commissioners, 1944. 49 pp.

Highways

A Selected List of References on Highway Intersections. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1944. 3 pp.

Housing

Housing for War and the Job Ahead. A common goal for communities . . . for industry, labor, and government. By National Housing Agency. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 24 pp.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, neighborhood improvement and conservation of national resources, including the addresses delivered at the Citizens Conference on Planning, held at Omaha, Nebraska, on June 14, 15, 16, 1943. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1944. xii, 195 pp.

Planning Detroit 1943 and Toward a Greater Detroit. Detroit, The City Plan Commission, 1944. 34 and 20 pp. respectively. Maps, illus.

Planning Progress 1943 and Preliminary Analysis of the Postwar Position of Greater Kansas City. Kansas City, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1944. 14 and 10 pp. respectively.

Postwar Planning Now. 286 selected postwar digests of factual industrial plans. New York, The Journal of Commerce, 1944. 24 pp.

A Selected List of References on Landscape Construction and Maintenance Costs. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Harvard University, 1944. 2 pp.

Public Health

Educational Qualifications of Health Educators and Educational Qualifications of Public Health Laboratory Workers. By Committee on Professional Education. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1944. 7 pp. each.

Social Security

Joint Statement on Social Security. By the Agriculture, Business and Labor Committees on National Policy. Washington 6, D.C., National Planning Association, 1944. ix, 34 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Kentucky Incomes. A Statistical Study of the Tax Returns 1941 and 1942. Frankfort, Kentucky Department of Revenue, 1944. 137 pp.

Water Conservation

Water Conservation Plans for West Fork River Basin West Virginia 1944. By Scotland G. Highland. Clarksburg, West Virginia, Water Board, 1944. 10 pp.